

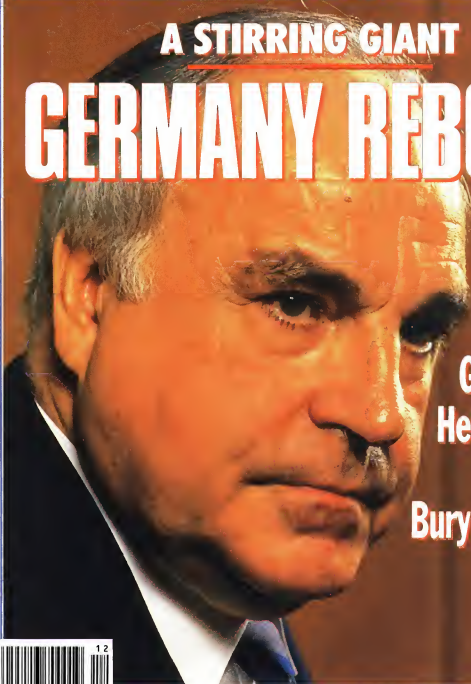
# Maclean's

A  
SENSATIONAL  
MURDER TRIAL

**A STIRRING GIANT**

# GERMANY REBORN

West  
Germany's  
Helmut Kohl  
Vows To  
Bury The Past





Victor Kwan  
CEO 1861-1870



James Gung  
CEO 1870-1878



G. E. Nello  
CEO 1878-1890



A. C. Brown  
CEO 1890-1899



Sir Randolph Goughan  
CEO 1899-1904



Sir Arthur Moore, CBE  
CEO 1904-1917



F. H. Bock  
CEO 1917-1918



Sir Thomas Jackson, CBE  
CEO 1918-1919, 1919-1921, 1921-1922



J. B. M. Smith  
CEO 1922-1923



Sir Michael Egan, CBE  
CEO 1923-1925



Sir John Saunders  
CEO 1925-1927



G. M. Scott, CBE  
CEO 1927-1937



Sir Norman Scott  
CEO 1937-1939



A. G. Dryden  
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A. M. Berton  
CEO 1954-1957



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Hong Kong was open for business; China trade was booming. And some forward thinking men saw fit to found a bank based on some very basic principles:

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Their bank would serve the local market need for financing of trade with the rest of the world

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commitment to honour the principles of our principals.

We look forward to interesting times.



Hongkong Bank of Canada



BACARDI STANDS OUT  
IN THE DARK.

SAVOUR THE  
EXCEPTIONALLY  
SMOOTH  
TASTE OF THE  
CARIBBEAN.

BACARDI  
DARK RUM.

# Maclean's

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE MARCH 19, 1990 VOL 188 NO 12

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WRITTEN BY KATHY TUCKER



## COVER

### GERMANY REBORN

As East German voters prepare to go to the polls, the issue of German reunification is a foregone conclusion. Another certainty is that they will inflict a massive defeat on their once all-powerful Communist rulers. Indeed, the only real issues are how fast the reunification process should be and who will negotiate on behalf of the country's 16 million people. — 24

## CANADA

### NEW THREAT TO MEECH LAKE

The throne speech opening a new session of the Newfoundland legislature said that Premier Clyde Wells' government will introduce a motion to rescind his province's support of the Meech Lake accord. Still, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney said it was too early to write off the troubled agreement. — 12



## MUSIC

### MELANCHOLY MAVERICKS

Cowboy Jackson, featuring singer Nargo Timmins, took the music world by storm three years ago when they issued a melancholy recording called *The Trinity Session*. Now, they are hoping to repeat that success with a new album, *The Cowboy Barons*, which offers a variety of textures, moods and tempos. — 32



Cover photo: Eric McEwen/Seattle Times



# A Dangerous Delusion

Ever since the end of the Second World War, it has been a common mistake both Germans to refer to Hitler, France, the United States and the Soviet Union as "the victorious powers." The West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl avoids that term. When a reporter in Bonn recently asked him a question about Allied rights in a reunified Germany, Kohl snapped: "Don't use the term 'victorious powers.' I don't like it."

It is just such behavior among some people in both Germany that has helped cause concern, especially in neighboring countries—former victims—about a possible resurgence of the kind of German nationalism that Adolf Hitler managed to infuse into the world's most deadly conflict. And it is unrealistic for Kohl, and indeed for anyone, to try to portray the defeat of Nazi Germany as merely a prelude to the transition from the country's economic problems of the 1930s to its staggering success now. As the American philosopher George Santayana put it, "Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it." Officials of the former Allied powers would do well to be wary of Kohl's attempts to begin substantive bilateral talks with East Berlin before the four conquerors of the Third Reich become involved in the negotiations. Otherwise, they could find themselves caught up in the same sort of delusion epitomized by the British playwright Noël Coward in his 1943 song *Don't Let's Be Beady to the Germans*, or again in 1964 by the American comic Tom Lehrer, who sang:

Once all the Germans were horrible and mean,  
But that couldn't happen again.  
We taught them a lesson in 1918,  
And they're hardly bettered as since then.

*Kennedy Doyle*



Controversial writer Andreas Pflüger: renewed memories of the world's most deadly conflict

## Maclean's

CANADA'S WEEKLY MAGAZINE

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## LETTERS

### DIVIDED OPINIONS

The portrayal of Joseph Brant by a white actor in *Divided Loyalties* is tantamount to having a white actor play George Washington ("That's ridiculous," *The Arts*, Feb. 18) I disagree with executive producer Tom Goad, who said that it was impossible to find a suitable native actor for the part. Had Royal Tompkins, who played a supporting role, been cast as Brant, his heritage would have given the movie much needed credibility. In the future, I hope to see Tompkins and other native actors in parts that are equal to their abilities.

Lynette Clary  
Huron, Ont.

So many characters should only be played by natives? Does that apply also to Indians, Arabs, French-Canadians and West? If not, why are industry policies and government laws enforcing that practice pass the Chamber of Rights and Freedoms test? To say this actors must not step into and appropriate other cultures for their emotions is simply cultural apartheid.

J. Thompson Park  
Montreal

### A 'TERRIBLE STRUGGLE'

Your article on poverty ("The face of hunger," *Special Report*, Feb. 22) touched me as no way could cover fully enough. My husband and I live well below the poverty line, and, for the first time, someone acknowledged that we are having a terrible struggle. We are among Canada's working poor. At the end of a week my husband brings home about \$156, and we are raising two children. I do not like being poor, but I take pride in what I have accomplished with the little I have. Though your article will probably have little effect on the politicians, it meant a great deal to me.

Lon Martin  
Windsor, N.S.

It had incredible that 14.8 per cent of Canadians live below the poverty line in view of the following story from *The Economist*: "During the 1980s, official creditors cancelled \$1.8 billion of debts owed by black Africa. Canada's \$966-million forgiveness was by far the largest." The half-billion dollars given to developing countries would have been better spent helping disadvantaged Canadians.

Michael V. J. Bledin  
Victoria

### A GODDESS STRIKES OUT?

I love Douglas Kirkland's explanation for harassing Marilyn Monroe's actress: "I was first a photographer." ("Shooting stars,"



Marilyn Monroe, 'cultural apartheid'

Photography, Feb. 20). When I first noticed Marilyn some 35 years ago, it occurred to me that, if I lived long enough, someone would claim to have been unsuccessfully propositioned by the goddess of sex. I believe in Douglas Kirkland, Santa Claus and the Tooth Fairy, and once purchased the Booky's Bodge from Nickerson's Kang during a season. One of

the great mysteries of the universe is why the right girls keep meeting the wrong guys.

Jack Perreault  
Don Mills, Ont.

### DEMPSEY IN THE MOVIES

I hate to burst Trent Dempsey's bubble ("The Sweet Season's real-life drama," *Sports Watch*, March 12), but there has been a TV movie based on the life of Jack Dempsey. Dempsey was released in 1983 and starred Trent Williams. It can't hurt, but it is there.

Glenn Mason  
Toronto

### PUT THE BLAME ON 'SICK MEN'

In your *Special Report* on "The spectre of male violence" (March 24), one person suggests that violence made by women against men is caused by women's account for increased violence against them. Put the blame where it belongs—on the sick men who hurt women.

Linda Morgan,  
Sault Ste. Marie, Ont.

Letters are edited and may be condensed. Writers should attach a return address and telephone number. Mail addresses should be in Canada. Send letters to: *Letters*, c/o *The Canadian Press*, 110 King St. West, Toronto, Ont. M5X 1C5.

## PASSAGES

**CONVICTED:** Ben Inoué Charles Yacoub, 23, who on April 7, 1989, forced a Georgetown bus driver and his 10 passengers of passengers onto Parliament Hill, of federal parliament and the seat of a new law to criminalize in advance by an Ontario Superior Court jury in Ottawa after 17 hours of deliberations. The jury acquitted the Lebanese immigrant of kidnapping, aggravated assault and intimidating Parliament. During the five-hour deliberations with police, Yacoub's lawyer, Michael, demanded that Yacoub, who lives in Toronto, be released. No one was injured at the scene. Yacoub's lawyer, Michael, demanded that Yacoub, who lives in Toronto, be released. No one was injured at the scene. Yacoub's lawyer, Michael, demanded that Yacoub, who lives in Toronto, be released. No one was injured at the scene.

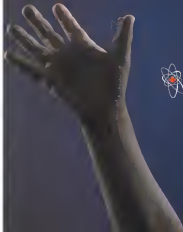


**AWARDED:** To Orlia, Ont.-based writer Paul Quernington, 26, the 1989 Governor General's Literary Award in the English fiction category for his quirky novel *Whale Music*, about a reclusive 1980s rock star. Robert Galois, 38, of Saskatoon was far from the English with his biography *Willie: The Life of W. Somerset Maugham*. The awards are each worth \$10,000.

**DEED:** U.S. college basketball player Frank Gathers, 23, one of the game's top professional prospects, after collapsing during a game of an undrafted game, in a Los Angeles hospital. The accident, seven-inch star player for Los Angeles Marmont of Los Angeles had been treated for an irregular heartbeat after collapsing during a game in December.

**REHABILITATED:** Former Detroit Red Wings all-star right-winger Bob Probert, 25, by the 30th, after serving a 90-day prison sentence for reporting 24 grams of cocaine onto the United States. The Windsor, Ont., native, who has not played since his arrest on March 2, 1989, was also treated for substance abuse and now is living in a Detroit-area halfway house.

**DEED:** American actor Gary Merrill, 74, who appeared in 42 movies during his 44-year career of career in his home near Portland, Me. Merrill is best known for playing the lover in the 1950 Academy Award-winning *All About Eve*, starring Bette Davis, whose he married that year and divorced a 1960. He is known for playing the grandfather in the 1960s *The Godfather* in the *Young Dr. Kildare* series.



## Nuclear energy.

Few people know that Canada's nuclear industry uses uranium to produce electricity without causing acid rain, or adding to the greenhouse effect.

Few people know that more than 420 nuclear reactors are currently operating worldwide. Of these, 18 are located in Canada and rank amongst the most efficient in the world.

Few people know that Canada's nuclear industry has been managing its waste in a responsible manner from the very outset.

If you want to know more about nuclear energy, call our toll-free number: 1-800-367-4477 or write to the Canadian Nuclear Association, 111 Elizabeth Street, 11th Floor, Toronto, Ontario M5G 1P7.

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Canadian Nuclear Association

THE WELL-INFORMED CHOICE

# OPENING NOTES

CTV News stumbles in the language war, Brian Mulroney wins a science award, and Kim Philby was a spy novel fan

## DECLINING WITH HONOR

Brian Mulroney is scheduled to become the first Canadian to receive a particular honor at a formal dinner in Toronto this week: the Walimann Award in the Sciences and Humanities. Spokesman for the Israeli-based Walimann Institute of Science, an organization that has received strong financial support from Canadians, say that this prize is given to "recognize encouragement of scientific research and initiative in the enhancement of the global quality of life." Still, Canadian scientists are keenly aware that the Prime Minister is receiving their prize at a time when Canadian spending on research and de-



Mulroney: sixth place in science

velopment puts the country in sixth place among the leading members of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development: behind Japan, the United States, West Germany, France and Sweden. In 1988, in fact, Canadian support for science amounted to only 1.3 per cent of the country's gross domestic product—less than half the 6.6 per cent percentage of Sweden. Solid University of Toronto diversity professor and 1988 Nobel Prize winner John Polanyi "Basic scientific research in Canadian universities is still woefully underfunded. As a nation, we suffer from neglect, not just in government, but in industry. If you want healthy science, you have to be willing to invest in the future of the country and not expect immediate returns." That sounds like the basis for a good after-dinner speech.

## Caught in the cross fire of language

The quarantine was snug, colorful—and accurately distributed. On Monday, a CTV national news broadcast first aired a report by Jacques Paragard's committee that said French speakers in Quebec were feeling the force of Quebec separatism. To illustrate that claim, CTV set up a debate among Thomas B. Macleod, executive director of a pro-independence group, and a pro-unionist. The city's official language is French. A short clip showed Councilor Dany Miller saying "We do not want any French in this country." In fact, Miller was one of only four of 13 councilors who opposed the municipal resolution. And she was actually going—surprisingly—from a telephone call that she had received from a supporter of that motion. Said Miller: "If they had played the tape for just 30 seconds, they would have seen that these were not my words. They



Miller: questions to first Quebec separatism

were just looking for the most dramatic statement." CTV aired a clarification on its March 6 national news broadcast, but Miller wants the network to apologize and cover the costs she incurred to hire a lawyer. Language wars can have unfortunate casualties.

## LETTERS FROM A LONELY SPY

Washington banquet released copies of eight typed letters that British tunneler Kim Philby sent to his U.S.-born wife, Eleanor, in 1964; they reveal that he was lonely and depressed—but could still practice spy-craft. In one letter from Moscow, Philby requests a John le Carré novel, *secretly giving it title as "The Spy Who Came in from the Rain."* Elsewhere, he refers to a bumper which was at a time of poor Soviet harvests. According to U.S. officials, Philby included that misleading report knowing that his mail would be intercepted. Old habits die hard.



Nygard (left), Trump: poses clippings and a "lovely, lovely lady"

## A UNION MADE FROM WHOLE CLOTH

He is a Canadian clothing manufacturer, a social climber with a flair for self-promotion and a habit of dating beautiful women. She is New York City's most talked-about socialite who, until a separation last month, appeared to be happily married to television developer Donald Trump. Now, according to New York Daily News gossip columnist Liz Smith, Toronto's Peter Nygard would like to catch Bruce Trump on the rebound. Smith and that Nygard's public

relations staff had sent her a bundle of press clippings, with a request—which she refused—to sign them on to leave. For Nygard, Nygard told Smith's that his spokesman had not approached Smith. He said that he considered her to be "a lovely, lovely lady," adding that he hopes to meet her one day. But, said Nygard, "right now, Donald and I have no dating problems, and I do not want to get in the middle of that." A good businessman knows his ranges carefully.



Soviet forces: an embarrassing cabinet split

## Refighting the Cold War

George Bush has been cast in the role of a Cold War defender this week—trying to convince two cabinet ministers with diametrically divergent views on the Soviet military threat. On one side of the issue, Central Intelligence Agency director William Webster maintains that even a hard-line Communist administration in Moscow would have "little incentive to engage in major confrontations with the United States." Conversely, Defense Secretary Richard Cheney has warned Congress against any cuts to Bush's \$39.6 billion defense budget, arguing that the Soviets are still formidable foes. Said the hawkish Cheney of Webster: "It would be easier for me, in terms of getting congressional approval of the budget that the President sent up, if, in fact, there were a little more support in his [Webster's] statements." In fact, U.S. intelligence officials say privately that Cheney would like the CIA to tailor its analysis to fit Bush administration defense policies. Declared one official: "The idea is unethical and insulting." In any event, White House aides say that both Webster and Cheney believe they must resolve an increasingly embarrassing split. To that end, they are to meet for breakfast this week—at Bush's urging. He wants a negotiated truce over foreign policy.

## Well-dressed women soldiers

The U.S. Senate budget committee recently supplied critics of *Pentagon* spending with new ammunition when it revealed that the U.S. army has 20,000 expensive dress shirts in stock for women soldiers. That is because the army is redesigning the shirt and is unlikely to issue the old version. The report added that the army had spent \$2.6 million for 126 different sizes of that shirt—64 more sizes than most women wear. Still, army spokesmen say that such extravagance is a thing of the past: the new shirts will only come in the standard 42-civilian sizes.

## DIFFERENT POINTS OF VIEW

CBC Radio's longest-running opinion program was suspended last month when the network's management expanded morning newscasts in order to provide more coverage of events in Eastern Europe. Consequently, a three-minute-a-day broadcast offering informed views on widely ranging issues, had been heard daily, Monday to Friday, after the 8:00 a.m. national newscast. But when it disappeared, some CBC staffers and Commentary supporters believed that opinionatively executives had killed the program, which first aired in 1957. In response to that allegation, CBC spokesman told *Maclean's* that Commentary would return to its usual time slot on April 5. That would be a statement about opinions.

## A FALSE ALARM ON THE HILL

The brown snapper and orange-goldenhead strikes back—well, almost. But real action in the Confederation building on Parliament Hill was started the week last week when they heard a steady ticking noise from a package that was addressed to Wangsui Liberal on David Walker. Police then evacuated the eighth-story library

and instructed bomb-disposal experts to the site. And about 30 minutes later, members of the bomb squad extracted the contents of the package: a quart-size clock that Walker received for advertising to *Maclean's*. A snapper, spokesman said, and that she did not know why the clock was ticking are normally made without batteries. Walker, who was on a flight to Wangsui at the time of the bomb scare, said: "I thought you had found it was not making the magazine every week."

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## COLUMN



# The passions of Boris Yeltsin

BY BARBARA AMIEL

The first thing I noticed when I met Boris Yeltsin in Vienna last week was the party pin in his lapel. There it was, the Soviet flag in shiny red enamel. It snapped up the attention of so many in the room. He was, in fact, indeed, Mikhail Gorbachev. According to high-school textbooks in the Soviet Union, the estimate of the number of people murdered in the worst of that little badge is about 40 million, or nearly twice the entire population of Canada. How does a man of decency fashion his little red flag to his suit each morning? What am I, as an interviewer, supposed to ask such a man?

At the moment, Yeltsin is a low-ranking member of the Soviet parliament. At one time he was virtually no Moscow, but in 1987 he resigned from the Politburo on the grounds that it smothered a baron of privilege and elites. His resignation was historic, and he likes to say that it was his only the second time in Soviet history to abandon the powerful "trappings of the Politburo"—the first being born, he says, Leonid Brezhnev.

As I look at him, I remember the European Communists of the 1930s, like Hungary's Arthur Kossuth or Italy's Ignazio Silone, who embraced Marxist-Leninism with such fervor. In their case, once they had won his dark nature they dedicated the rest of their lives to exploit it in all ways it was the wrong way to set up the world. But while Yeltsin and Gorbachev don't dispute the enormous facts about Communism, it is still that system they want to save. Perhaps they sense that, if it were taken away, the editor that in the Soviet Union would become like sand. More surely would reign.

His party emblem notwithstanding, I quite liked Yeltsin. I had expected a lackluster man and a bit of a bore. Perhaps it was all the talk of his drinking exploits and emotional outbursts. Perhaps it was my cynicism about his right against the passions of cash, but rather than succumb to his political career, I sensed opportunities.

In fact, his arguments, delivered over a meal

*'A man must live his life like a great big flame. In the end, he burns out. But this is better than a mean little flame'*

in a flight from Vienna to Amsterdam, were made with precision and his presence was authentic. He was reserved, in spite of a stunning ability to quaff two man-bottles of champagne and two of red wine with extraordinary speed and absolutely no discernible effect. Body chemistry is a wondrous thing.

It was only last week, he told me, that he wrote himself to the Soviet parliament to say that he would no longer be taking advantage of the car he had been given for his personal use. "For our country," he explained, "this is an absolutely incredible action and I shall not be thanked for it. I shall be cursed from all sides because in our country there are a million or so such cars." Then why did he do it? "I want to put myself in the position of the ordinary man. I don't want to get up any longer, I want to do it."

A cynic could see this all as a clever response to the bewildered and chafed Gorbachev. It may be. But symbolic gestures do have and raise when a country is in turmoil. The British Royal Family, after all, had taken looks during the Second World War.

Both Yeltsin and the Soviet Union are in great turmoil and pain. Time and time again Yeltsin talks of his personal anguish over his rift with Gorbachev. But he is not simply an

ideological battle but a personal tragedy. "My vulnerability is that I am a very impractical man. Any exchange that is brutal or crude makes a deep impression on me. I cannot listen with indifference to the chairman of the Supreme Soviet talking about pushing his ideas through. I can answer back and I do but at that moment, I suffer very deeply. The leadership lives some kind of life of its own and does not hear the suffering of the people."

One can only guess from a meeting what strands lie within a man, and courage can coexist with cowardice as well as principle with expediency. But there seems to be something in the being of Yeltsin that speaks of the best of Russian qualities. His autobiography, *Against the Grain*, to be published in Britain this week—with his advance and all royalties donated to AIDS work in the Soviet Union—paints a picture of a southern man constantly going against his own interests. He is the pugilist who forbids his diploma at graduation in order to speak out about the teacher who forced his students to collect scraps of food to feed his pigs. He is the youth without a leader who loathed across the Soviet Union on trains to see every corner of it, telling police that he was going to visit his grandmother. "He would walk for the entire day, I would like to see Leonid. There is always a Leonid-Soviet in every town."

As for the fate of the Russian people, Yeltsin is firm. He speaks of the humiliation and pain of Russians who find themselves outnumbered in the ethnic republics where the language is not their own and discrimination. "We are reproached with leading off the other republics, but Russia is perfectly capable of feeding itself," he says. "For many decades Russia has helped the other republics and now it is exhausted, not only in terms of natural resources but in terms of intellectual resources. Russians long for their own cultural autonomy and economic and intellectual regeneration. One must not think there is no national power in the Russian Federation. It does exist, and if we do not take it into account there will be even more difficult and tragic consequences than in Armenia, Azerbaijan or Moldova."

Would he grant the republics complete independence? "Yes," he replies unequivocally. The meeting left me with a feeling of coming tragedy. The autobiography will cause even more "sensations," he said, "and we can go very far with unpleasantness even to the point of physical." "His life was filled with them." "But a man must live his life like a great big flame and burn as brightly as he can. In the end, he burns out. But this is better than a mean little flame."

Yeltsin's War and Peace the Russian novel General Kutuzov, one of two Russians who defeated Napoleon. Of course, Napoleon is the more brilliant general. Kutuzov seems to be the worse for wear and drink, with no great strategic master. But he is so much at one with the land that he is better than a mean little flame. "I don't matter so long as he doesn't give up. It may be that Boris Yeltsin has that kind of oneness that Yeltsin needs to know. He does. One Moscow night will be long and dark for Mikhail Gorbachev."



# NEW THREAT TO MEECH LAKE

The political time bomb that Clyde Wells placed under the Meech Lake constitutional accord is beginning to glow. Last November, during a Senate First Ministers' conference in Ottawa, the Newfoundland premier said that he was ready to renege the accord (rather than accept the special status that its "distinct society" clause would grant to Quebec. At that time, Wells agreed to delay such a move, as an assurance from the most other provinces and Prime Minister Brian Mulroney that the accord would not go into effect without Newfoundland's agreement—and that discussions aimed at resolving his concerns about its contents would continue that same then, the federal government and Quebec, and several other provinces, have continued to insist that the accord be adopted unchanged. Finally, last week, Wells made a plea that his patience was wearing on him. In a three-hour speech before the provincial Liberal government's legislative assembly, Newfoundland's Lt. Gov. James McGrath told the house of assembly that the accord would be asked "to pass a resolution to suspend the approval of the Meech Lake accord."

Later, Wells played the same line to his action against those who are pressing for adoption of the constitution's controversial agreement. "The Prime Minister and province of Quebec are saying we can't change one word of Meech Lake," said Wells, who also objects to terms in the accord that, he insists, could limit Ottawa's ability to remedy regional economic inequalities. He added, "Dore, I can't force them to change. I can only confirm what I have said before: this is unacceptable to Newfoundland." Wells said that Wells still the troubled accord what many observers described as a decision. "This is final, this is it," said a closely guarded Richard Barfield, the former premier of Newfoundland and a signatory to the draft accord. And in Ottawa, some Conservative MPs speculated openly that the accord would fail.

But, for his part, Mulroney remained stubbornly optimistic that Meech Lake would eventually pass. "There is no guarantee," he said, "but I don't see a off and it's time." Of Wells' action, he added, "I do not view it as any particular setback." But a colleague, Brian-

## PREMIER CLYDE WELLS PREPARES TO WITHDRAW NEWFOUNDLAND'S SUPPORT FOR THE AGREEMENT

most Minister Lucien Bouchard, hinted at what may prove to be a significant change in Ottawa's position on the accord. Until now, the federal government has insisted that all 10 provinces must ratify the accord by June 23 in order for it to take effect. But Bouchard hinted last week that the agreement could be adopted even over Wells's objection. "It might be a choice," Bouchard said, "between Newfoundland and Quebec."

Murray promises 'not ready' to meet



Among Quebecers, the reaction to the latest crisis ranged from fury to wary silence. Tony Morin, a Quebec MP, raged that Wells's action proved that "other provinces do not want Quebec in this country." For his part, Parti Québécois leader Jacques Parizeau said that the Newfoundlanders had brought Quebec even closer to independence, adding that his party is steadily planning the details of Quebec's separation. But, for his part, Premier Robert Bourassa made no comment on Wells's action, possibly in an effort to avoid worsening the constitutional deadlock.

In other provincial capitals, some leaders blamed Mulroney for the accord's troubles while others tried to advance their own constitutional initiatives. Meanwhile Premier Gary Filmon, who has withheld his province's ratification of the accord, said that Mulroney's government had failed to acknowledge the accord's weaknesses. Said Filmon: "They are not prepared to take responsibility for trying to resolve the differences that exist." In British Columbia, meanwhile, Premier William Vander Zeele walked similar Mulroney as the author of the accord's problems, instead relying on his fellow First Ministers to reconsider his own suggestion of Jan. 17 that the constitutional impasse be solved by breaking the accord into several parts—some of which might be passed immediately, while others were reserved before being submitted again for provincial ratification.

At the same time, New Brunswick Premier Frank McKenna, who has also withheld approval of Meech Lake, received his call for a second, "parallel" accord to address concerns

Wells in the Newfoundland legislature: fury in Quebec over the premier's decision

about the original document. Despite that, McKenna said there was still time to save Meech Lake, noting that Wells's action "will have no weight if people do not correct it."

But some Liberal Conservatives from Quebec clearly disagreed—in the past that several of them were considering leaving federal politics altogether. They backtracked. Suzanne Dugue, for one, put the blame squarely on the Newfoundland premier. "Mr. Wells is thinking of himself and only himself," she said. Industry Minister Benoit Boivin observed that, "in fact," Quebec's Tories "have been very disciplined." But he wondered aloud whether they would maintain their patience with federalism much longer. Indeed, this week, about 90 Tories left from Quebec planned to meet—basically, at the government's Meech Lake retreat—to discuss their options if the accord fails. One member of the party's Quebec caucus who did not plan to attend, however, was Charbonneau MP Brian Mulroney.

Even as they mounted for the future of the country if Meech fails, one respected business analyst warned investors against reacting with alarm to the prospect of Quebec independence. Merrill Lynch and Co., one of the largest investment firms in the United States, said that separation would not have a disastrous effect on Quebec's economy, which it described as strong, balanced and diversified. The report noted that an independent Quebec would likely generate a gross domestic product of about \$140 billion, larger than that of Denmark or Austria.

Meanwhile, the gathering mood of crisis over Meech Lake also created a rift between two of the leading candidates for the federal Liberal leadership. For his part, Montreal MP Michel Martin, who supports the Meech accord, accused its principal rival, former Liberal cabinet minister Jean Chrétien, of being "irresponsible" in his persistent attacks on the constitutional agreement, whose fate will be decided before any candidate takes over the Liberal helm during a convention in June. In reply, Chrétien told an audience of business leaders in Toronto that the leadership struggle must make their positions on Meech Lake clear. "We have to know what someone thinks of Canada," he said.

As the week ended, hopes for resuscitating the Meech Lake accord appeared dim. For his part, Wells held open the possibility that he might act on it immediately on his intention to renounce the existing accord. But in Ottawa, Federal-Provincial Relations Minister Lloyd Murray, who has spent the past four months shuttling between provincial capitals searching for a way to reconcile the opposing views on the accord, observed pessimistically that the premiers "are not ready to be brought together." Was just over three months remaining until the generally accepted June 23 deadline for ratification of the constitutional accord, the time bomb was still ticking.

GREG W. TAYLOR with JOHN AYER as Victoria, LISA JAY GUNZEN in Ottawa and RUSSELL MANGINERY in St. John's, Nfld.

## National Notes

### ONTARIO SEX CHARGES

Police in Prescott, in eastern Ontario, charged four men and two juveniles with a variety of offences involving the sexual abuse of 11 new children, some as young as 12 months. The police added that another 31 children may have been abused. Meanwhile, a federal report said that Canada's prison system has the facilities to treat only one out of seven convicted sex offenders.

### INVESTIGATING A CHIEF

Nat'l Science Secretary General Neil LaThang said that the order will investigate the activities of retired Sydney police chief John McDermott, 71. McDermott headed the department in 1971, the year Donald Marshall II was arrested and detained for a murder he did not commit. Meanwhile, an opinion poll by the other politician as Marshall for bringing early re-investigation of his case, as well as the people of Nova Scotia for leaving political pressure to refusing to lay charges against two prominent Conservative cabinet ministers.

### TIGHTER SECURITY

A spokesman said that the Armed Forces have implemented 41 of 42 recommendations made by a defence department report of security that examined security for Ontario after Cpl. Denis Latour's bloody 1984 attack on the Quebec national assembly. The commission had concluded that Latour was able to find weapons used in the attack because of his security at the base where he was stationed.

### BOWEN SPEAKS OUT

Monroe Bowden, the retired Alberta justice minister, said he will publish a best-selling book against the free trade deal, released a 40-page booklet opposing the Meech Lake constitutional accord. Bowden, 74, said that the agreement "denies our identity as a nation."

### INDOENRMENT FOR CARR

After losing a bitter campaign to have been ousted, Canadian Labour Congress President Shirley Carr appeared set to win a third two-year term. Labor leaders unanimously endorsed Carr as the ideal candidate for the CLC's May election.

### HIWAY WATER CHARGES

The RCMP charged Daniel George MacLennan, 34, as employee at New Brunswick's Point Lepreau nuclear power station, with putting radioactive heavy water into a beverage dispenser. On Feb. 22, eight plant workers were contaminated after drinking from the machine.



Copps campaigning: strong showing in the polls and a breakthrough in Quebec

## A new Liberal star

Sheila Copps's leadership bid takes off

**T**he transformation of Sheila Copps began with clothes of a different color. For six years, as the federal face of liberalism, Copps was a registered as "Shirley Steele." Copps wore no ostentatious wardrobe of browns. "I was never much interested in clothes," said the woman who made her name with such unconventional actions as making a cover of communist-era claims in pursuit of then-Industry Minister Sinclair Stevens, that shortly after her entry into the Liberal leadership race on Jan. 15, the 37-year-old politician asked two of Canada's best-known design houses, Alfred Dunhill and Misser Lennart, to fashion a new image for her. Between them, the Toronto-based designers donated a collection of 23 outfits worth an estimated total of \$6,000. "If you are wearing the right package, people will listen to what you have to say," Copps told Misser's last week. "Some might say it's too bad you have to look good to get your message out, but that's reality."

The creation of a new Sheila—the Copps who focuses on getting her message out—is paying dividends here late February, after she emerged from the lower tier of candidates' category that includes Toronto-area MPs

Thomas Mulcair and John Manoen—who to some passion challenge former federal cabinet minister Jean Chrétien and Montreal MP Paul Martin to one of the three leading candidates to succeed outgoing Liberal leader John Turner. Copps has yet to match her growing personal popularity with continued delegate support. And her leadership bid continues to be hampered by what is at best an embryonic campaign organization. But some key Liberal's world of recent Gallup polls that measure national popularity, saw say that hering-mistaken Copps could well come second to Chrétien on the first ballot in the June 23 leadership vote.

In fact, the transformation of the youthful winner of a lifetime of politics from rangy maverick to polished performer may appear as necessary to many longtime Liberals as her wardrobe change does. Once a brain member of the infamous Liberal Fox Pack that conspired to circumvent exchanges with the Tory majority as both partisan duty and of personal conviction, Copps has mellowed into a mature, and even respected, contributor for the leadership. Certainly, no matter where Copps finishes, she has secured a by now solid standing party spokeswoman. Said Copps strategist Joseph

Thomley: "The person who went to the wall over Sir Robert was not because it was appropriate at the time. But Sheila is evolving from a political celebrity into a significant political force."

The extent of the Montreal MP's emergence as a contender with just has become clear on several critical fronts in recent weeks. In Quebec, where Copps has been buoyed by her support for the Meech Lake accord, she surprised the Martin camp on Feb. 20 by gaining the long-sought endorsement of provincial Health Minister Marc-André Gauthier, one of the most powerful members of Quebec Liberal Premier Robert Bourassa's inner circle. The Manning, which party leadership is the next best thing to Bourassa's personal endorsement, most-depined Martin of his best chance to gain an edge over his archrival and fellow Quebecer, Chrétien. As well, Copps, the Liberal endorsement critic whose rise in English, French and Italian, secured an endorsement from Clifford Laroche's campaign

after the former Quebec ministerial minister dropped out of the race following his loss to the party's Philip Ellwood in the Feb. 12 Chénay, Que., federal by-election.

In Toronto last week, curiosity about the Liberal MP attracted 60 Bay Street business executives to a private reception for the candidate, organized by Toronto businessman William Somerville. During a 15-minute speech, Copps promised to offset her lack of financial expertise by surrounding herself "with 25 of the brightest" advisers within two years of election as leader. Since March 2, business donors have enriched Copps's campaign fund with five donations totaling \$45,000. And organizers publicly stressed that two of the four cheques for \$10,000 were anonymous. "Ray Street wouldn't have even glanced at Sheila a month ago," said Copps fund-raiser Thomas Lennart. "The difference is that she is now in a more comfortable position of being the linguistic and Bay Street maverick."

And in a national review, a Gallup poll released on March 3—one day before West Coast Liberals met for a leadership forum in Vancouver—showed that 47 per cent of Canadians polled would vote for a Copps-led Liberal party. That was five percentage points more than said that they would vote for the party under Martin, and only six points behind the support for Chrétien. Twenty per cent thought that Copps was the best Liberal candidate, a nine-point gain over a poll done in January. Said Copps, explaining her increasing popularity: "People want the common-sense, middle-class approach. That part of my image works in my favor."

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grip from her Conservative success, Trade Minister John Crosbie appeared to work in her favor. At a recent Tory party fund-raiser in Victoria, Crosbie said that Copps's participation in the leadership campaign reminded him of a song: "Fare you like the tango, Sheila, and let down and love me again." In Copps's estimation, the outspoken Newfoundland's remarks produced a gain of five percentage points in her standing in the polls. One of her arguments against herself described Crosbie's statement as "pure potty" for Copps.

Copps's recent successes reflect the maturing of a personality that was inspired early in the whirlwind of municipal politics. When she was 13, her father, Victor Copps, became mayor of Hamilton—a position that he held for

ed Charlton and Martin supporters have outnumbered the Copps camp in Quebec and Ontario. Even with Coit's endorsement and a surge of Bay Street donations, her team remains hampered by a weak organization and a shortage of money.

At one point during a swing through Toronto and Hamilton last week, Copps's organizers tried to convince supporters that their candidate had the support of 98 delegates elected at the opening weeks of the selection process—only 25 less than either Martin or Charlton. Party insiders, however, placed the level of Copps support by midweek at less than 50, including the unsupported slate of 13 Copps delegates chosen Wednesday at an election-fueled meeting in Hamilton. Said one Martin

slate to round out the ticket to 12. The 280 eligible voters at the meeting were purposely not told that the three intended to support Copps in Calgary. Explained Flanagan: "You can make deals that don't hurt people. This was a good deal for both Charlton and Copps."

In a further effort to attract delegate support, the Copps team is attempting to recruit the candidate's anti-establishment reputation as the magnet of a populist. For one thing, she is showing herself in a working mother, accompanied on some campaign swings by her two-year-old daughter, Danielle—whose custody Copps shares with U.S. businessman Richard Mancera, her second husband, from whom she recently separated. As well, her organizers make a point of publicizing Copps's shooting campaign and largely volunteer organization. "You are looking at one of only two past members in this outfit," Daniels admitted. Jeffery Smith told reporters in Hamilton last week: "If someone working for us has dinner anywhere but Burger King," he added, "I want to know about it."

At the same time, Copps, who is clearly unable to match the \$4.7-million campaign coffers of Charlton and Martin, uses her own lack of cash to distance herself from her two rivals. "I am a person with guts," she told a Vancouver audience. "I don't rely on pollsters or polls to tell me what to think. Canadians need a prime minister whose economic policies are not dictated by a few wealthy individuals." Organizers acknowledge that Copps is unlikely to meet her own fundraising goal of \$1 million, despite hopes that her success in Quebec will add an additional \$400,000 to her war chest. But, said one Copps organizer: "Sheila has always had the attitude that you cannot win unless you are in the race, so there's no sense whining about the money requirements. You just go out and do your thing."

Last week, Copps's "thing" included dinner at the Masters Club, an exclusive clubhouse of the most powerful members of Toronto's Conservative community. Over numerous spring rolls and delicate Oriental pastries, Copps told 20 dinner guests that she alone had "the capacity to attract people into the Liberal party." But in spite of her obvious admirers, the Hamilton MP must first overcome a more immediate challenge: attracting delegates who will cast their votes at her favor at the leadership convention.

By KAREN PILLAY in November with DEBBIE WALLACE in Ottawa



Copps preparing for a Flare magazine photo session: 'Just good to get your message out.'

33 years until 1976, when he suffered a heart attack. The following year, Copps, by then a journalist who had studied languages at the University of Western Ontario and the University of Rouen in France, made her own first attempt to enter the political arena. Running in the riding of Hamilton Centre during the 1977 Ontario provincial election, she lost by only 24 votes. Four years later, she tried again. This time successfully, and set in a Liberal MP until 1984. In that year's federal election, she ousted the Hamilton East riding, emerging victorious in the face of the localbook Conservative victory that brought Prime Minister Brian Mulroney to power.

Still, Copps may not have the tools needed to win the only race that counts for her at the moment: the race to attract support from the 5,200 Liberal delegates who will choose a new leader in Calgary in June. During the early meetings to select 32 delegates from each federal riding, the sophisticated and well-fund-

organizer "Sheila can play with her members. But she can't afford to take them too seriously."

Still, strategists at the Copps-center peek at the mouge pickings with the rebels of winning birds. In one battle last week for delegate support from the Quebec City-area riding of Louis-Hébert, Copps received 60 per cent of the vote—but not a single delegate. Even so, the optimists: Hamilton MP stated that the result was "evidence that mouging is happening in Quebec."

And while Copps insists publicly that she will not try to manipulate delegates, Gordie Flanagan, a Copps lobbyist, acknowledged that the only way that he and two other Copps supporters in the Toronto-area riding of Don Valley North ensured their spots on the convention floor was to strike a deal with Charlton forces. In return for their vote in support of one Charlton delegate, the three delegates' names were added to the Charlton



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# Prairie backlash

Anti-minority campaigns cause heated debate

Peter Kozak insists that he is not a racist. But the apoplectic carpenter sells laced pins at his stand at Calgary's Greenmarket—and they give another impression. The pins depict a white man in front of three other men, an Oriental woman a nude her, a Sikh as a barbarian and a black man clutching a spear. A caption reads "Who is the minority in Canada?" Since late December, Kozak says, he has sold 3,500 of the pins across Canada. Another 25,000 are on order. And last week, Kozak's pins achieved new notoriety when Prime Minister Brian Mulroney compared them to the white hoods worn by the racist Ku Klux Klan. "It's kind of embarrassing to be associated with those things (hoods), so they wear pins," Mulroney told representatives of Toronto's multicultural media. "This is the racism that we have to guard against."

open burning season on native Canadians. Those items and others have outraged minority groups but have left authorities uncertain how best to combat the disturbing eruption of racial intolerance. For RCMP Commissioner Norman Baskin, meanwhile, a rash of pictorial and verbal attacks on Sikhs carries a deep message: Baskin has been criticized, particularly in Western Canada, for taking the federal government to allow Sikh members of the force to wear turbans—as their religion requires.

That recommendation plainly lies behind at least one of the contentious items. Baskin's turbaned officer on the Calgary poster is the caption "Is this Canadian or does this make you Sikh?" Its creator is Horstmeier Baskin, a 40-year-old welder from Langdon, 15 km east of Calgary, who posed for the picture himself—his face darkened with his wife's brown eye makeup. He claims to have sold nearly 10,000 posters at between \$4 and \$6 each. Baskin, who emigrated from his native Germany when he was four years old also insists that he is not a racist. "I don't have anything against Sikhs personally," he said. "So many immigrants

come over here and bleed in it's just these people who are making the demands." For his part, Kozak claims that his pins have been misrepresented. "It's not racist and it wasn't meant to be racist," he declared.

But not all of the objectionable materials have been aimed at Sikhs. The handbill posted to a store in Thompson, Man., in late January stated that the owner searched for a candidate due to a shortage of animals. In its place, the poster stated, "There will be open season on Indians." It added, "These welfare recipients must be thinned out every three years."

That incident to murder disappeared after a customer complained to the store. But other overt expressions of racism prompt authorities with a dilemma. In Manitoba, minority groups and opposition politicians have demanded that provincial Justice Minister James McCracken prosecute the distributors of racially offensive items. But McCracken has responded that only some of the items—including the Sikh poster and the hunting handbill—qualify as hate literature under the Criminal Code of Canada. Others, such as the pin and a T-shirt ridiculing turbaned Sikhs participating in the Sikh cultural race, probably break no law, even if they are extremely objectionable. McCracken said that anyone caught selling the materials would be charged. But to date, no charges have been laid—a fact that clearly worries some critics. Said Manitoba Liberal Leader Steven Chastelain "Propane people are allowed to disseminate information that is racist, then others feel it is acceptable."



Kozak: laced pins, T-shirts and posters assault immigrants and native Indians

But McCracken's reticence is shared by other provincial ministers. Saskatchewan Justice Minister Gary Laine, for one, said he thought carefully before publicly condemning Kozak's pins as being "offensive to the basic values and traditions of Saskatchewan." Observed Laine "You have an obligation as justice minister to speak on these things, but sometimes you are

just adding publicity and helping sales."

The controversy also has renewed the debate over whether Sikh RCMP officers should be allowed to wear turbans. In an appearance before the House of Commons justice committee in June, Baskin promoted a relaxation of the dress code as part of a larger program to attract more minority members

and women into the force. Said Baskin "The fact of Canada is changing." That view ignored some Canadians, for whom the RCMP's traditional scarlet tunic and Stetson are a cherished national symbol. By last week, Conservative MP Barbara Spence of Calgary had tabled petitions in the House of Commons carrying more than 125,000 signatures, most of them from Western Canada, demanding the retention of the Mountie dress code. The federal cabinet has yet to rule on the issue. But last week, Mulroney said that he personally favored the right of Sikh RCMP officers to wear turbans.

While Sikhs are not held separately on the RCMP's employment rolls, a spokesman for the force said that there are only 18 officers in all of Canada who are of West or South Asian origin—a designation that includes Sikhs. Still, the dress issue has become a symbolic and sensitive one for the Sikh community. "It is not a question of religion and the state," said Manmohan Singh Sandhu, president of the Council of Sikh Organizations in Calgary. "It is our right to be what we are." For Sandhu and other minority leaders, the recent spate of insulting incidents is an unsettling sign that their right to maintain their cultural identities is still under attack.

BRIAN BERGMAN and KERRY DOTTE in Edmonton, JOHN MURPHY in Calgary, DALE DUNLAP in Regina and GARRY MOSE in Winnipeg

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## WORLD

# AN ULTIMATE CHALLENGE

**V**oting in regional elections last week, the Soviet Union's top Communist seemed unconcerned about whether the winners would all be carrying party cards. President Mikhail Gorbachev said that he did not care who was in charge as they supported his program of perestroika. And after Gorbachev had been in the Lenin Hills district of Moscow, he refused to say if he had voted a straight party ticket. As it turned out, the Communists seemed to retain the leadership of these Slavic republics that constitute the Russian heartland. But opposition groups scored major gains in the March 4 elections, threatening to take over important city governments. Two days later, the Communist party effectively reversed decades of economic policy by allowing private ownership of factories and businesses. And at the weekend, Lithuania posed the ultimate challenge to the central government by preparing to secede.

The Lithuanian parliament, dominated by

## OPPOSITION GROUPS SCORED MAJOR GAINS IN SOVIET ELECTIONS, AND LITHUANIA WAS POISED TO SECEDE

severely elected members of the pro-independence Sąjūdis movement, scheduled a meeting for March 13 at which it was expected to declare the restoration of the independent state that existed before distant Josef Stalin forcibly annexed the Baltic republics in 1940. Trying to head off the Sąjūdis declaration,

chief as well as parliamentary leader, has said that he favors a gradual, negotiated annexation rather than a swift break with Moscow. But Sąjūdis members, who enjoy a two-thirds majority in the republic's legislature, wanted to make their declaration of independence before a special session of the Congress of People's Deputies convened in Moscow on March 12. Analysts said the congress would likely be based on the powers of the Soviet president, giving him the right to suspend republican executives and deploy troops in times of emergency. Lithuanian nationalists declared that Gorbachev might be tempted to use those powers to prevent all three Baltic republics, including Latvia and Estonia, from breaking away.

Although Gorbachev has said that he wants the Communist party to become "an electing-winning machine," he has steadily reduced its influence since persuading the Central Committee to give up the Communists' legal monopoly on power early last month. Foreign observers say that the Soviet leader may have shrunk himself of the title of party secretary general if, as expected, the 2,800-member congress gives him a four-year presidential term. That would mean that Gorbachev would not have to face Soviet voters until 1990, which would give the party plenty of time to win public confidence—or to withdraw away.

So far, it has not performed well in six elections. On Feb. 24, the Communists lost not only in Lithuania but also in Moldova and Azerbaijan. They did better in the three Slavic republics, Russia, Belorussia and Ukraine, which cover most of the Soviet landmass and hold 78 per cent of the population. But to keep their seats, many party leaders had to run as independents or as members of non-Communist parties. And many Communist deputies and company independents did not contest. That helped the party maintain sole majorities in the republican legislatures. It also appeared to lose control of several city govern-

ments, including Moscow and Leningrad. Some urban areas had up to 23 contenders and, to win outright, a candidate had to get more than 50 per cent of the vote. As a result, many seats will not be decided until runoff elections scheduled for March 18.

In Moscow, outright winners included Vladimir Lukin, editor of a widely read tabloid, *Azovskiy Vostok* (Arguments and Facts). He had accused Gorbachev of more than one occasion by suggesting that the Soviet leader was not as popular as he believed. Another Gorbachev critic, newspaper columnist Boris

group would also become a full-fledged opposition party working for the eventual independence of the republic.

Gorbachev, who characterized the elections as a "people's referendum on perestroika," clearly had divided loyalties. On the one hand, the Soviet leader is plainly disheartened by the emergence of strong opposition groups advocating secession. On the other, he is happy to see the removal of Communist lawmakers who resist his political and economic reforms. The results of last week's voting were hardly as when the Supreme Soviet approved secession of the republics.

Gorbachev's maneuvers seemed aimed at creating a mixed economy. On March 6, the Soviet parliament passed a law allowing private citizens the right to own "means of production," previously prohibited by Article 18 of the constitution. Soviet economists said that the move clears the way for workers to gain control of state enterprises. Observers also say that it is a first step towards the establishment of a banking system to underwrite new businesses.

Gorbachev's first private enterprise initiative, a 1988 law granting co-operatives, did not grant property rights. As a result, co-operatives had to obtain licenses that could be withdrawn at the whim of local governments. Despite such safeguards, co-operatives have quadrupled in the past year and now employ 5.5 million people, according to a report in the official government newspaper, *Izvestia*. The new law will allow them and other businesses to buy their own premises without fear of confiscation by the state.

Deputy Prime Minister Leonid Abukhov, an economist, has warned that economic reform and the destiny of the government will be in peril if Soviet moves do not soon start to fill up with more consistent growth. To that goal, Gorbachev has shown himself willing to accede to reform even at the risk of alienating his own party. But observers say that he must still tread carefully. Last week, the Soviet union's parliament passed a law that would cut tax rights in the Communist party and would "act" to protect secessionists. That threat, issued in the form of an appeal, was specifically addressed to members of the Supreme Soviet, but it was clearly aimed at Gorbachev as well.

**BOLGER JENSEN** with **ROSEMARIE DOYLE** in Moscow

## World Notes

### AFGHAN COUP ATTEMPT

The Afghan government announced that troops loyal to President Najibullah had crushed a coup attempt led by Defense Minister Shabazz Khan. Diplomats in Kabul, the capital, and said rebel units of the Afghan air force bombed the presidential palace, while opposing ground troops engaged in heavy street fighting before the coup was put down.

### HOPE FOR HOSTAGES

Seyn and Iran have launched a new national search in January 17. Western hostages held by pro-Iranian Shias in Lebanon. On March 6, *The Tel Aviv Times*, a newspaper that usually reflects Iranian government opinion, reported that the hostages could be released before the end of the year.

### PRISONER'S DEATH SQUADS

Former members of a South African military death squad have confessed to beheading plots against anti-apartheid activists. They told a judicial inquiry in Pretoria about a plan to replace the heart of Nelson Mandela's lawyer with tablets designed to induce a heart attack. Another abortive scheme, code-named Operation Age, was to read a habeas corpus to Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, winner of the Nobel Peace Prize.

### CHEMICAL WEAPONS

Lithuania has renewed the prohibition of chemical weapons after a year's hiatus, according to the U.S. Defense Intelligence Agency. The chemicalists plant in Babes, which was built with help from West Germany and other Western European companies, stopped manufacturing mustard gas after an international outcry in 1988. But the U.S. report said that the plant produced 30 tons of mustard gas in 1989 and may also have begun to make Sarin, a paralyzing nerve gas.

### REINTEGRATION IN HAITI

Haitian President Li-Gen Prosper Avril handed over power to acting army chief of staff Brig. Gen. Hérard Ardéant after three weeks since the country demand of his ouster. Avril, who had ruled the Caribbean nation of an interim since Sept. 1984, faced growing opposition since January, when he imposed a state of siege and deported several opposition leaders.

### ROBBER IN CHILE

Bandits exploded in Santiago, the Chilean capital, before last Sunday's scheduled inauguration of president-elect Pinucho Aqueles. One man was badly injured close to the U.S. Consulate.



Lithuanians voting; Lithuanian pro-democracy demonstrators (opposite page) a meeting from Gorbachev

Yelitsin, now exiled in the Ural Mountain city of Sterlitsk, where he hopes to capture the presidency of the Russian Federation and regain the Politburo seat he lost two years ago. Five years of half-baked political maneuvering and compromise have only made things worse," he told last reporters after the election. He said that he would give the Communist party one more chance to reform and that, if it failed to do so, he would start his own party. For his part, he said, he would lead the Russian nationalist movement in Ukraine, and that he

opposite reform even at the risk of alienating his own party. But observers say that he must still tread carefully. Last week, the Soviet union's parliament passed a law that would cut tax rights in the Communist party and would "act" to protect secessionists. That threat, issued in the form of an appeal, was specifically addressed to members of the Supreme Soviet, but it was clearly aimed at Gorbachev as well.

**BOLGER JENSEN** with **ROSEMARIE DOYLE** in Moscow



*Harkey's arrest, leftist extremists organized several violent demonstrations*

## GREAT BRITAIN

## A bloody tax revolt

*Margaret Thatcher's new levy causes riots*

Just over 600 years ago, King Richard II of England got into deep-moral-political trouble by levying a poll tax on every adult in the country. The tax was so unpopular that it sparked the Peasants' Revolt of 1381. Rebelled by Wat Tyler marched on the capital, stormed the Tower of London and beheaded both the King's treasurer and the Archbishop of Canterbury. Last week a new revolt against another poll tax, this time imposed by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's Conservative government, swept across England. And although it accurately distasteful the type of measures inflicted by Tyler's followers, the latest campaign did not result in a violent riot or a scale of carnage as Richard's reign ended. Instead, it was a peaceful, non-violent protest. In the 14th century, hundreds of people fought bloody battles with police on London's East End on Thursday. This police day of stress.

The cause of their anger was a new form of local government tax officially called the sanitation charge but popularly known as the poll tax, which replaces the rates, or property taxes, when it goes into effect on April 1. Unlike rates, which are paid only by property owners, the new charge will be levied on almost all adults. This means that some 20 million people will have to pay towards local services, such as schools and garbage collec-

tion for the first time. And although varying from district to district, the tax will be the same for all people in any one constituency. Opponents charge that it is unfair, and public opinion has been fuelled by official admissions that the new tax will be on average 33 per cent higher than the government had originally estimated. Even many members of Thatcher's own party admit that the unpopularity of the poll tax is a key reason for the party's steep decline in public support. With the ideal of rational, open poll levying, the Conservative government is trailing the opposition Labour Party by 16 percentage points, says ICM Opinion.

But the violent demonstrations that erupted in dozens of towns last week deflected attention from the tax snail, diverting it onto the tactics of some militant protesters. As municipal councils throughout England set to set their area's poll-tax figure, opponents mobilized police and stormed council chambers in Southampton. 500 people tried to

latter down the doors of the city's clubs, pubs, wine, music, others smashed chairs and brought the crowd roaring to a halt. In the East End London borough of Hackney on Thursday night, police arrested 57 people after an outbreak of violence and looting. Protesters fought with police, injuring 30 officers, and later rampaged down a shopping street, breaking windows and running off with video recorders, clothing and liquor.

Conservative leaders deplored the violence and generally saw no evidence that the anti-tax campaign had been taken up by members of the left: the *Mitraglis* Treasury group. Members of that group, and the tiny Socialist Workers' Party, were present among some of the most violent demonstrators. Thatcher told the House of Commons that such violence had "no place in a democratic society". The involvement of leftists embarrassed Labour Party Leader Neil Kinnock, who expelled members of the *Mitraglis* Treasury from his party in 1985 and 1986. The *Mitraglis* Treasury group, which had a poll tax has been known for a year and thousands of people have refused to pay it. Kinnock told supporters that "my own revolutionary" were playing into the government's hands.

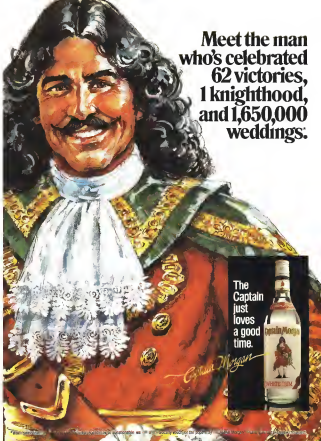
Sell, it isumed certain that the popularity of the poll tax would continue to fall? Thatcher Opponents pointed out that that wall be higher (than the government had originally forecast)—an average of about \$675 for each adult, compared with official predictions of only \$500. The amounts also vary widely depending on the level of services provided. In one south London borough, the figure will be just \$390 per person, while the adjoining district is expected to set a figure of about \$1,000.

The controversy has erupted at a bad time for Thatcher, whose popularity is at its lowest ebb since 1986. It now stands at just 34 per cent, compared with 49.6 per cent for Labour in the latest Gallup poll. In addition to the unpopularity of the community charges, the

Thorn has suffered from Britain's inflation rate, now at 7.7 per cent, mortgage interest rates of 15 per cent and public weariness with Thatcher's confrontational style of governing. Three of her senior ministers have resigned in the past six months, and some British newspapers last week reported that senior Tories have discussed replacing her with a new leader. Thatcher herself characteristically showed no signs of being unduly concerned.

Conservative municipal councillors that "we can give it and we can take it." With a full two years to go before the next local election, the durable prime minister still had ample time to relish her position.

ANDREW PHILLIPS in London



# GERMANY REBORN

ON THE EVE OF  
FREE ELECTIONS,  
EAST GERMANS ARE  
EXPRESSING ANGER  
AND DEEP ANXIETY

**A** noon on a brisk but sunny Saturday, East Berlin's Alexanderplatz is humming. Amid the prominently 1960s office buildings that ring the vast square, bands of political activists are converging for the situation of licensed passers-by. In a corner, the small United Left group is soliciting signatures on a petition against quick unification of East and West Germany. At a table set up by the conservative German Social Union, two men are loudly debating their southeast chess almost touching, to the delight of a growing crowd of spectators. In the middle of the square, members of a recently formed tenants' union broadcast from a sound truck warnings against West Germans who try to rickrack buildings in the East and raise rents. On the far side, a street vendor is selling scarves, grapes and strawberries—and even he has an explicit political message. A sign on the front of his stall reads "We accept deutsche marks only." As the people of East Germany prepare to vote on March 18 in the first fully free elections of Eastern Europe's post-Communist era, they face a confusing barrage of propaganda from dozens of parties.

Not in one critical sense, the words of the politicians are less important than the first-order's blunt message that the East German's currency, the mark, is no longer any good. He will take only West German money, a stark reminder that the most important issue facing the people in the Alexanderplatz is a long-term conclusion. Their nation's country's merger with rich West Germany is already well under way. When they go to the polls, they will decide not whether to come with the West, but how well that process should be and who should regulate the terms on their behalf. Said Ingo Mohr, a politically independent artist in East Berlin: "We are growing used to the idea that the new East German government will be empowered to do nothing more than negotiate our capitulation."

**Novelty:** That anxiousness is one reason for the atmosphere of competition surrounding the East German vote. The people of what is now the German Democratic Republic have not participated in a completely free election since November, 1932, three months before Adolf Hitler became chancellor, later enabling his Nazi dictatorship. But the novelty of a democratic campaign has produced little pop. Instead, there is evident anger at the four wasted decades under state socialism, confusion over how unity will be achieved and, above all, deep anxiety at what it will mean for jobs and living standards.

Outside Germany, Eastern and Western Europeans have expressed anxiety over the future power of a greater German state of nearly 60 million people stretching from France to Poland. West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl fueled these concerns by seeming to force the pace of unification and by refusing for several weeks to give Poland an unconditional



guarantee that a united Germany would respect the existing German-Polish border. In West Germany, there is both burgeoning self-assurance and anxiety at the cost of absorbing the East and its outdated economy. In Bonn, billboards proclaim "We see some body." Radio stations have begun playing more German music, and companies increasingly use the German flag and national colors in their advertising. At the same time, however, commentators say that replacing East Germany's weak convertible currency with the strong West German mark is bound to fuel inflation in the West.

**Unity:** There will be other costs as well. West Germany will have to ensure that East Germans receive adequate pension and social benefits, and will have the major task of upgrading the East's deteriorating roads and railways. The cost to the federal government of integrating the two economies, estimated as much as \$18 billion a year for the next 10 years, will increase Bonn's already \$15-billion budget deficit and lead to pressure for higher taxes. West German business, too, will have to invest billions to refurbish or replace outdated Eastern factories.

Last week, these problems led to calls to slow the pace of unification. The opposition Social Democrats' Party in Bonn urged a carefully negotiated unity. East Germany's outgoing prime minister, Hans Modrow, cautioned West Germany that his country wants "unification, not Anschluss"—the traditionally charged word for annexation that is associated with Adolf Hitler's takeover of Austria in 1938. Private voices were also raised. In East Berlin, Hans Obermann, a researcher at East Germany's Institute for International Studies, cautioned that the process is opening out of control. "We're taking our way into a crisis," he said. "We just don't see it yet."

**Worries:** But in some of the smaller towns and villages of East Germany, there was clear evidence that voters' worries were more personal. Conversations revolved around how Eastern marks would be exchanged for Western marks, and at what rate. If the conversion rate allowed, close to the current black-market rate of five ostmarks for one deutsche mark, East German's savings would be almost wiped out. In Kitz, a drab, redbrick town of 25,000 people about 15 km from the West German border, 33-year-old post office clerk Kerstin Schönbach said the uncertainty was far more likely to delay her wedding. "We've been waiting and saving for two years," she said. "But if the savings go, how will we be able to pay for the wedding? How can we buy furniture? We'd have to start all over again. It's frightening."

About 30 km from Kitz, in the tiny border village of Döbelsdorf, Hans Giebert, the assistant director of the local youth center, agreed that local people's worries revolve mainly around money. "We all have a lot of

Old Reichstag behind Berlin Wall; Kohl (opposite): the rickety, the rich



AP/WIDEWORLD

AP/WIDEWORLD

## ORDINARY CITIZENS WORRY ABOUT THEIR JOBS AND LIVING STANDARDS

money in the bank," she explained. "There was never anything to buy, so you just saved. If the government just gives us a few D-marks for it, it's like we worked all these years for nothing."

In fact, Oita Pöhl, president of the West German central bank, the Bundesbank, has said that monetary union is not likely until "a few months at least" after the East German elections. He has called the idea that the East and West German currencies should be valued equally "somewhat naive, but politically

correct, they have been going back and forth daily, using the specific consumer goods in the stores across the border, then playing up their spending. Traded cars and returning to a world of shoddy products, perked roads and crumbling houses. The result has been a kind of culture shock—and a deepening sense of inferiority.

**Anger.** Taking in the Oderbrücke youth center, Dietrich Schick, a 25-year-old mechanic, told how a friend returned from a visit to the ultramodern Volkswagen factory in Wolfsburg

how to order from a little place like ours, now wonder whether we can compete." Still, he added, "every generation has had to adapt. We'll survive."

In the border areas, anger at the old regime is particularly deep because of the severe restrictions placed on local people. In the past, a five-kilometer strip along the border was designated as a special "security zone" in which even East Germans needed permission to travel. Walter Wiewerski, a 73-year-old, retired teacher, recalled how his four children had to apply four weeks in advance for a permit to visit him in his village of Jüterbog, inside the security zone. And Wiewerski himself had to apply a month in advance for a permit to visit the grave of another daughter who is buried in a cemetery less than half a kilometer from the border, an area of even stricter security.



West German soldiers during exercises: further reassurances from the chancellor that there will be no "Fourth Reich"

powerful," because of East Germany's fears that their savings will be seized out. And he has laid down three conditions to be fulfilled before allowing the West German mark to replace the East German currency. The East must undergo "a radical change of its entire economic system," its monetary policy must be placed under the Bundesbank's control, and an efficient banking system must be established there.

**Shock.** East Germans' concerns about their living standards have risen sharply since their opening to the West last November. For years, they could see Western lifestyles on television but they were forbidden to cross the border. Since the frontiers were

lured, just across the border in West Germany. "He couldn't believe it," recalled Schick. "It's all robots and electronics. We have what they used to have in the 1950s. We just keep opening our old machines over and over again until they're useless. It makes you feel kind of second-rate."

In Kitzau, retired businessman Hermann Kammerer voiced a different kind of worry. When his son, Jürgen, who now runs the family's small woodworking company, went to West Germany to explore the market for his products, he encountered an unexpected problem. "You can buy everything in the West as a one-day shop," said Hermann Kammerer. "And a lot of it is made in the Third World. You don't

"We've been totally deceived here," he said angrily. "Someone should put up pictures of the people who ran things here and say, 'Don't let their kind come back again.' It'll be 43 now instead of 73, I'd do it myself!"

**Logic.** Obviously, the growing ties between East and West are transforming the border area, which local people traditionally refer to as the "dead zone." For decades, since East German authorities sealed off the border in the 1950s, villages like Detlebrich were literally at the end of the road. Historic half-timbered houses near the dividing line crumbled as the government refused to invest in the region. Now, cars and trucks roll steadily through the newly opened crossing points, and well-off

West Germans secure about buying desirable property. Since the beginning of the year, more than 30 people have applied to open small businesses in Detlebrich, compared with just two in all of 1988. Sold Master Stefan Wietzling. "We could say that we have rejoined the world."

Other East Germans worry openly about jobs, rents and prices. Although most of them now discuss the decreed socialist system as

used the Nazis in scapegoats to explain away crimes that they themselves had participated in. Similarly, East Germans are now blaming "Stalinism" for the ills of their society without examining how they helped the system to survive for four decades. West Master: "We are already helping the victims to blame."

And, Maastricht, East Germany's system of censorship, repressive schooling and political authority has kept a population that is not yet

have not been the leaders of the main East German parties, but Western politicians brought it to campaign for their allies. Kahl himself has attracted huge crowds for the Alliance for Germany's conservative coalition that includes the Christian's own Christian Democratic Union. The Social Democratic Party (SPD), Kahl's main opposition in Bonn, named former chancellier Willy Brandt as its honorary chairman in the East. Brandt found the East like a homecoming.

He said in a letter welcoming the SPD's message that it would do the most to protect East Germans' needs besides after unification. In Berlin, Brandt declared, "The true way to unity is to follow the SPD's motto: not to let one generation's sins be the price of another's peace."

All the main parties in the East, including the former Communist party, now called the Party of Democratic Socialism, advocate unification with the West. But they are divided over how to achieve it. The conservative Alliance for Germany only said that a united Germany will not need a new constitution. Instead, under its plan, East Germany could simply apply, soon after the March 18 elections, to join the West under Article 23 of the federal republic's basic law. SPD politicians, in contrast, favor a longer unity process. They propose setting up a joint Council for German Unity "to draft a new constitution based on that of West Germany, but with special provisions for the East. The new constitution would be tested in a referendum, followed by elections to a new, all-German parliament. That step-by-step approach, the Social Democrats maintain, would allow an orderly growing-together of the Germans."

**Challenges.** The SPD has wide support in East Germany for that platform. The Social Democrats have also been found to be the party that their party was formerly merged with the former Communist party after the Second World War, allowing them to portray themselves as being among the Communist's earliest victims. In contrast, the East German wing of Kahl's Christian Democrats could have won the Conservatives for 60 years. After East's democratic opening, Kahl formed the Eastern Christian Democrats to change their leadership and to cooperate with other conservatives in the Alliance for Germany, but the party remained troubled by its past. That gave the Social Democrats a strong early lead in the campaign.

Last week, however, a new opinion poll indicated that East Germany's voters are moving in the right. The survey put SPD support at 36 per cent, compared with 38 per cent for the Alliance and a record 15 per cent for the former Communist party. Most analysts maintain that the likelihood of success of the vote



Reunited: Helmut Kohl in the East, crossing borders and a deepening sense of inferiority

a tragic error, they still believe the old regime's stereotype of West Germany as a dog-eat-dog capitalist society in which only the strong survive. Their concerns are heightened by the thousands of West Germans who have judged claims on land or buildings that the Communist government issued decades ago. Some East Germans have suddenly found themselves with a prospective Western landlord who plans to sell their building or increase their rent. At the innkeeper's union rally in Alexanderplatz, Wolfgang Müller stated how the people in his Berlin apartment building have been told that a man from Munich is claiming the property. "Maybe we'll have to pay more or get out," Müller said.

**Logic.** Since East German say that the angry response to the crumbling of the old Communist system will make the future more difficult. Hans-Joachim Maas, a psychiatrist in the East German city of Halle, compared the reaction of his fellow citizens to the passing of the socialist order with the response of Germans in exile at the end of the Second World War. Writing recently in the West German magazine *Der Spiegel*, Maas said that Germans in 1945

may find welcome relief in the East German city certain to influence politics throughout Germany as the map-up of West Germany's federal structure in December. The Western parties have poured money and technical help into the East to help their voter gains.

In fact, the stars of the election campaign





is a coalition government of Social Democrats, communists and others headed by the star's leader, Ibrahim Böhm.

Whatever the result, the governments of both East and West Germany will face major challenges as they move towards unity. Kohl will have to contend with a growing resentment in West Germany of the continued influx of East Germans—more than 200,000 so far this year in addition to the 344,000 who arrived in 1988. The northern city of Rerres recently declared that it would no longer accept orders from the East; the mayor said that the city had to give priority to caring for its own unemployed and homeless. Officials in dozens of other cities and towns have said that they, too, are saturated with newcomers.

**Fluffy:** In towns near the border with the East, West Germans increasingly complain that the Easters are polluting their streets with their smelly little cars, crowding them out of their favorite stores and even shoplifting. And opinion polls show that, although West Germans continue to support unification, they resent the prospect of paying higher taxes to finance it. One survey, published last week by Hamburg's *Die Zeit*, said that 68 per cent favor unity but only 27 per cent are prepared to pay more taxes to finance it. Researchers from the Allensbach Institute, which conducted the poll, concluded that younger West Germans are not willing to sacrifice their own well-being for that of others as their par-

ents did to rebuild their country after the war. In East Germany, the new administration that emerges after the elections will have to grapple with even tougher challenges. With its economy continuing to weaken and its citizens departing for the West at the rate of nearly 2,000 a day, it will face the task of negotiating terms of unity with Kohl's government. It will have to move fast enough to satisfy East Germans who are impatient for an improve-

ment in their living standards, but cautiously enough to ensure that communism does not tumble into a chaotic, fragile anarchy.

What almost no one on either side of the border questions, however, is the direction of events. Does those East Germans who remain skeptical about the wisdom of rapid unification concede that it appears to be unlikely. The physical proof of that is evident any day at the dozens of busy border-crossing points between the two Germanys: thousands of weary Easters returning home laden with cheap clothes and fancy new clothes from the West. Said Hans-Gertmann of East Germany's Institute for International Studies: "What we have here is the head-on collision of the East German people with the West German material paradise." That collision seems sure to result in nothing less than the re-emergence of Germany as an economic superpower in the heart of continental Europe.

ANDREW PHILLIPS along the East West German border with JAMN MOLLARD in Berlin and PEGGY TRAUTMAN in Bonn



and foreign waves, many East German sports figures now face the acids and occasionally the physical assaults of their less-privileged compatriots. Angry fellow citizens of Olympic swimmer Ingrid Pfendrich recently vandalized her new Lada car in Karl Marx-Stadt. Gymnast figure skater Katarina Witt has been a particular target for criticism. But, as she pointed out recently, star athletes in the West also "receive some advantages." And while hundreds of thousands who have deserted the Communist party, Witt has refused to throw away her party card. "I'm on cheap transport," she said.

As state subsidies are cut and full-time athletes have to find jobs to live, standards of performance are likely to decline, say West's sports administrators. Still, the East German's expertise—especially in swimming and track-and-field events, in which two categories they currently hold 18 world records—remains valuable legacy, which will pass to a unified Germany.

JOHN BIERMAN with JAMN MOLLARD in Berlin

## OLYMPIAN IMPLICATIONS

For the past two decades, legends of barely suspect, gold medal-winning superlatives have symbolized Communist East Germany's supremacy in sports. Now with the continuing collapse of the East German state and the apparently inevitable march toward a unified Germany, which may well become reality before the Barcelona Olympics in 1992, will clearly be a sporting superpower.

Just how super will depend in part on the extent to which East Germany's state-financed but so-called amateur sporting system crumbles before reunification. Already, budget cuts mean that the ministry of youth and sport is likely to fire one in five of its trainers by July. Another 3,000 administrators, grounds staff, managers and others are also expected to be laid off. Meanwhile, Leipzig's once-sacred, five-story Research Institute for Body Culture and Sport no longer measures to the efforts of mass

With a particular target for compatriots' criticism

than 600 athletes, coaches and sports scientists. These numbers have been drastically reduced, and the secret training, sports medicine and muscle-building techniques—including sophisticated biomechanical analyses—that were developed at the institute and were once a jealously guarded national treasure, have become a commodity for sale to the highest hard-core bidder.

Athletes themselves are also for sale: about 50 sports stars have deserted this year, many of them soccer players who have gone to Western clubs for six-figure salaries. But it is not only big salaries, weekly sponsorship and the possibility of lucrative advertising contracts that have them away. Once granted such special favors as superior housing, new cars

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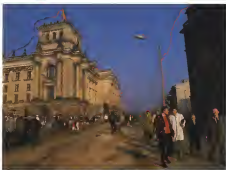
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Old path where Wall stood; property values have fallen by up to 30 per cent in two months

## BONN'S FUTURE

### BERLIN MAY SWALLOW THE CAPITAL

When the mayor of Bonn, Hans Dammann, welcomed Mikhail Gorbachev to his city last June, he declared his faith in an eventual reunification of the two Germanys. Bonn, Dammann told the Soviet president, "knows that it is only degrading as the capital for Berlin." In reality, German unity seemed then to be a non-negotiable prospect. Just one month later, with reunification becoming reality faster than nearly anyone had predicted, postcards are growing in rankers: Berlin as the capital of a united Germany—leaving Bonn facing an uncertain future.

Officially, the sleepy university city on the Rhine (which sprang from John F. Kennedy's characterization as *A Small Town in Germany* in his 1968 novel) was never intended as West Germany's permanent capital. The postwar government moved Bonn as its "provisional capital" to underline its desire for reunification and a return to Berlin. For three decades, West German politicians built a minimal number of government buildings in Bonn, and civil servants also had to make in suburbanized quarters. West until the mid-1980s did the government's business in a \$1-billion program to build

new ministries and a new parliamentary complex. But now, a shift to Berlin seems inevitable, and Bonn is already feeling the effects. Because one-third of the city's 300,000 residents—civil servants, diplomats and their families—live in Bonn only because it is West Germany's capital, property values have fallen by up to 30 per cent in the past two months. And the government has frozen plans for a \$175-million media centre.

**Berwick:** Bonn's downturn contrasts sharply with the new buoyancy of Berlin, where property prices and rents are climbing as companies bid for space. Berwick ground along the west side of the Berlin Wall is eagerly sought after. And the authorities in West Berlin (population two million) and East Berlin (1.4 million) have set up a commission to catalogue existing buildings that could form the basis of a new capital. Most obvious are the old Reichstag, or parliament, close to the Wall on the west side, and the complex of ministries and embassies in East Berlin that were built for the capital of the last German Democratic Republic.

Meanwhile, the expected move to Berlin has raised concerns in several quarters. West Berlin has acquired a reputation as an island of

alternative culture that puts a strong emphasis on preserving green spaces. But now, Michael Schreyer, West Berlin's senator in charge of planning, warns that there will be an effective curbs on development in East Berlin after reunification. "We have been able to make something special here," she said, "and we don't want to create another Los Angeles."

**Berwick:** In fact, some Germans feel that Berlin never should have been the capital. It became so only in 1971, when the various German kingdoms and principalities were unified under Prussian domination. Many south Germans—Bavarians, in particular—say that Munich would be a more appropriate capital. And in East Germany, Berlin is unpopular because the government spent heavily to make it the showpiece of the Socialist world at the expense of such equally historic cities as Dresden and Leipzig.

At the same time, many Germans contend that reunifying Berlin would send the wrong signals about the nature of a reunited Germany. For them, Bonn's modest size and lack of pretension made it an ideal symbol of the new, democratic postwar nation. Berlin, with its Prussian past, its bombastic architecture and its more recent role as the capital of Hitler's Third Reich, is largely the opposite. And some Germans say that its location, only 85 km from the Polish border, may give the country's current allies a false and dangerous impression that it is moving away from its established ties with the West. Said Uwe Holte, a member of the West German parliament: "It is my duty to say, but Europe is my future." Added the legislator, who proudly displays both the German and European Community flags on his desk in Bonn: "It is proper that the capital be closer to Brussels than to Warsaw."

**Competing:** In the end, observers say, the solution may lie in splitting the capital's role between Berlin and Bonn. Under that proposal, Berlin would be Germany's parliamentary capital only, with Bonn retaining its administrative role. Such a plan, said Wolfgang Stiller, director of West Berlin's Institute for Inter-European Studies, "would fit well as the German tradition of accepting competing capitals." It would also save much of the cost of moving the entire capital to Berlin—estimated at \$28 billion to \$375 billion. For many West Germans, that money would be better spent on rebuilding the broken-down economy of the East.

ANDREW PHILLIPS in Berlin  
and FRIGOT TRAUTMAN in Bonn

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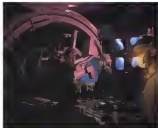
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# PHILIPS

COVER

# THE NEO-NAZI FACTOR

## THE POLAND ISSUE SETS OFF ALARMS

**I**n a single stroke last week, West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl managed to re-open a simmering controversy among his European neighbors about the future behavior patterns of a united Germany. At issue was the question of Poland's postwar borders, in which Kohl seemed to espouse an Aul even a formal assurance by the Bonn parliament that those borders would be secure, followed by a similar pledge from Kohl himself to his North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) allies, failed to close the air completely. Throughout Europe, both East and West, a generalized sense of unease seemed to larger over the two Germans' headlong rush towards reunification. And nowhere was that unease more apparent than in Poland, whose president, Wojciech Jaruzelski, called Kohl's assurances "a quarter step forward, still among our enemy." Against French President François Mitterrand, "This declaration must be more specific. This is not just my opinion."

**Fears** Kohl's handling of the Polish border question, widely felt, but could recently little extended, about German reunification. Those concerns were evident among Germans themselves. Although West Germany's extreme right-wing Reconciliation party and other neo-Nazi organizations are not a major factor on the overall political scene, the specter of Germany's Nazi past was clearly present in many minds. As West German novelist Günter Grass put it, Germany itself had been a necessary precondition enabling the Nazis to perpetrate "organized genocide."

Most West German comment was less pointed than that, but there was widespread concern of Kohl's handling of the border issue. The core of the main controversy, widely acknowledged since depicted him as a Prussian politician in the traditional spiked helmet. And



Neo-Nazi leader Michael Gabor lucid fear of expatriation

Hans-Jochen Wehr, chairman of the opposition Social Democrats, claimed that Kohl had "liquidated" the world's trust and put the reunification process in peril "in its most serious phase." Said Leisla West German Volker Stötz, director of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute: "From now on, Kohl's dealings on reunification will remain under suspicion."

**Claims** No other issue, perhaps, could have set off alarms throughout Europe like the Polish border question. It was Hitler's revision of Poland in 1939, as part of a territorial claim, that sparked the Second World War. Within a decade in 1945, large tracts of formerly German territory in East Prussia, Pomerania and Silesia were ceded to Poland, and the new border was drawn along the line of the Oder

and Neisse rivers. In recent weeks, Polish leaders as ardently devoted as Janina and Solidarity leader Lech Wałęsa have made it clear that they consider the Oder-Neisse line to be sacrosanct. "It is impossible that somebody could touch this border," said Wałęsa.

**Pressure:** For weeks, Kohl, facing elections in December and apparently bowing to domestic political pressures, had avoided giving an official guarantee to respect the border. Then, on March 2 statement, he said that it remains for each a guarantee, Poland would have to reaffirm a 1955 commitment not to seek reparation from Germany. That touched off cries of alarm and the first more reunification crisis since the opening of the Berlin Wall last November. "This border is sacrosanct," declared French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas on a visit to West Berlin. "That must be held without delay to full the uncertainties and fears." Some cynics and that Kohl's handling of the Oder-Neisse issue could even turn Western Europeans' public opinion against German reunification. Commented *Der Spiegel*, the magazine of the French Institute for International Relations, a Paris think-tank: "The public's joy over the end of totalitarian rule in Eastern Europe has suddenly been clouded by the specter of an airport, murdering Germany."

In Poland itself, latest fears of German expansionism rose quickly to the surface. Said rather and socialist Stefan Kisielewski: "Germans are social, honest, democratic, love their friends, are unselfish, but from time to time someone persuades them that they should be very bad, and then they are really very bad."

Kohl also came under fire from within his own governing coalition, in which the small Poles Democratic Party shares power with the Christian Democrats. Former Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, of the Free Democrats, clashed openly with Kohl and, de-

## THE SPECTRE OF A MUSCLE-FLEXING GERMANY CLOUDS THE PUBLIC JOY

ago's weary 34-hour summit meeting on March 6, forced him to back down. Kohl withdrew his demand for a reparations waiver and agreed that, before reunification, both German parliaments should renounce any territorial claims on Poland. Emerging from the summit exhausted, he acknowledged that "mistakes were made on every side, including by me." Two days later, after a narrow debate, the parliament adopted a resolution calling for identical decisions by the two Germanys that "the Polish people are assured that their right to live in secure borders will not be questioned." But the border issue had already damaged confidence in Kohl's political judgment and Germany's strong-provisionist stance.

**Assuring:** It was an apparently chastened chancellor who flew to Brussels last Thursday to assure his NATO allies that Poland's borders were not in question. He also sought to soothe the nerves of German members, including Helmut, Belgium and Italy, by assuring them that they will be closely consulted as the reunification process moves forward. Under the so-called five-point formula, negotiations in result, other will be conducted by the two Germanys and the four victorious Second World War allies: Britain, France, the United States and the Soviet Union, said a Dutch foreign office spokesman seemed to speak for the smaller nations when he declared last week, "We are determined not to be drawn out." And as an explicit concession, Kohl agreed at Brussels that consultations with all members of the alliance would be synchronized with the two-point-four talks.

That left out the Poles, whose President Jaruzelski, and Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki arrived in Paris last Friday to seek French support for their demands for full consultation at every stage in the process. At the same time, the first round of formal negotiations between the two Germanys opened in East Berlin, with further talks including representatives of the four Second World War allies to follow in Bonn on March 14.

**Rebel:** One major issue as which the Big Four are deeply divided is whether a unified Germany should join NATO. The Western allies say that they want it firmly rooted in the



Mazowiecki and Kohl (right) damage to Germany's postwar image

alliance and the European Common Market, if only because they fear that a neutral Germany might lose its strategic importance. But Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev said last week that a unified Germany within NATO would be "absolutely unacceptable." A possible compromise, after reunification, NATO troops would be confined to the Western sector of Germany.

Germany as a whole are clearly proud of their postwar democratic credentials and economic achievements. And analysts say that a majority would probably agree with the new opposition by 47-year-old East German lawmaker Angela Lohse last week that "a unified Germany means not having to say 'we're sorry' anymore." Among

The flurry over the Polish border question and the speed of the reunification process provoked extensive self-examination within West Germany itself. The hardest self-criticism was that of novelist Gert, 64-year-old author of *The Tin Drum* and other widely acclaimed international best-sellers. Through he supports a confederation of the two Germanys with a common economic system, Gert is clearly alarmed at the prospect of full union. He declared in a lecture at the end of February: "We have every reason to be afraid of ourselves in a reunifying story." He added: "We cannot get by Auschwitz. We shouldn't even try, because Auschwitz belongs to us, is branded into our history and made possible in a way that could be summed up as 'Now, we finally know ourselves.'"

**Extremes:** Sociologist Wolfgang Ibert, writing in March's *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, warned against what he called Germany's self-destructive nationalism. "Together we are unbeatable," he said. And historian Arnulf Bruns of West Berlin's Free University said: "The German soul is inherently self-destructive and tends to manifest itself in extremes."

Such views are no doubt those of an introspective intellectual minority. West Germans as a whole are clearly proud of their postwar democratic credentials and economic achievements. And analysts say that a majority would probably agree with the new opposition by 47-year-old East German lawmaker Angela Lohse last week that "a unified Germany means not having to say 'we're sorry' anymore." Among

### THE BORDER QUESTION



JOHN BIERMAN with  
PETER LEROUX in Bonn,  
RODGER TIGHE in Warsaw  
JOHN TIGHE in Bonn  
and PEGGY FREEMAN  
in Bonn

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lysis say that it has had healthy profit increases over the same period. Says Jacques Rivest, a consumer-products analyst with the Montreal brokerage firm Montreal Capital Corp.: "I know of no more profitable business to be in today."

The tobacco companies' performance is all the more remarkable, because it comes in the face of an all-out war against them by anti-smoking activists. Fueled by the lobbying efforts of the National Campaign for Action on Tobacco, a coalition made up of 56 of the country's largest health organizations, the Conservative government passed the C-57, one of the most restrictive pieces of anti-smoking legislation in the world. Known as the Tobacco Products Control Act, it was designed to ensure that cigarette packages carried more health warnings than ever. It also banned all forms of tobacco print advertising as of Jan. 1, 1990, and called for manufacturers to phase out chlorinated hydrocarbons, as well as additives in stores, by 1993.

Ottawa's crackdown prompted a legal outcry from tobacco executives, as well as a court challenge. Says Donald Brown, vice-president of marketing at Imperial: "There's no doubt our ability to communicate has been drastically diminished. There's not much room to move." As a result, Imperial and R.J. Macdonald took Ottawa to Quebec's Superior Court last September, arguing that the advertising ban is unconstitutional because it violates the right to freedom of expression, as guaranteed by the Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

As the court battle continues, producers are using creative marketing to boost or maintain sales in the new, restrictive climate. Last year, when it became clear that R.J. C-57 would likely allow tobacco to sponsor cultural and sporting events under a corporate name, all three companies hastily began to convert cigarette brand names into incorporated companies. As a result, sponsorship by Imperial of jazz festivals in Toronto and Montreal, and the sponsorship of the tournament at Glen Abbey in Ontario, Ont., continued under the newly formed St. Moritz Ltd. And R.J. Macdonald's Player's Ltd. sponsored men's and women's tennis tournaments in Montreal and Toronto.

The cigarette-makers have also been scrambling heavily to re-improve themselves. Although they are not allowed to install new store signs or displays, the companies are still permitted to pay retailers for the privilege of stocking their brands front and center at the check-out counter. Ironically, R.J. C-57 is credited with helping the companies develop a new retail advertising plan, the three major producers this year plan to spend only about one-third of the \$80 million they spent on advertising in 1987.

But some of the industry's marketing plans have been attacked by anti-smoking activists. Last month, when R.J. C-57 announced that its group launched a court case charging that R.J. C-57's controversial long-standing tobacco control laws by offering rebates to its Black Cat brand. The brand is popular among young smokers, a group that in 1986—the last year

## Business Notes

**BRITISH BID FOR CONSUMERS' GAS**  
British Gas PLC, the Western world's largest gas utility, bid \$1.1 billion to buy Consumers' Gas Ltd., Canada's largest natural-gas distributor. Consumers' Gas Ltd., which is owned by Toronto's billionaire Hutchinson family and which owns 13 per cent of Consumers' shares, said that it will sell its stock for \$24 per share, but the purchase must still be approved by the Ontario Energy Board.

**FLOUR FLOUR**  
The Federal Competition Bureau has charged eight commercial mills with \$1.5 million in false claims, with regard to flour. Among them are the companies, including Robin Hood Multigrain Inc. and Maple Leaf Mills Ltd. of Toronto and Golden Mills Ltd. of Montreal. It alleges that the companies price sell when bidding on \$100 million in flour sales for federal food-aid projects to less-developed nations.

**UNEMPLOYMENT RATE FALLS**  
Despite a slowing economy and widespread layoffs in fish-processing and automobile plants, Canada's unemployment rate fell to 7.3 per cent in February from 7.4 per cent the month before. Statistics Canada reported that the seasonally adjusted rate fell after rising for three of the four previous months.

**CAMPAIGN SPILLAGE**  
Toronto-based Capital Corp. defaulted on a \$5.5-million interest payment on \$705 million in loans owed to Ohio shopping-mall developer Edward DeBorja and to Chicago's J. Van Dergrift Inc. The company, which is controlled by Toronto's Hutchinson family, said that if the company does not reach a compromise with its lenders, it could be forced into liquidation and lose valuable property holdings in Canada and the United States.

**ROBBERY CROSSINGS**  
National Revenue Minister Otto Jelinek unveiled new procedures designed to make it easier for truckers and other heavy-duty commercial goods to cross the Canada-U.S. border and proposed to implement stiffer penalties for truckers who attempt to evade customs duties.

**CORPORATE PROFITS SAAG**  
Operating profits of Canadian industrial companies rose 6.6 per cent over 1986 to \$16.6 billion from \$15.6 billion. The profit decline was the first since 1984, when operating profits fell 15.6 per cent to \$16.9 billion.

## BUSINESS

# AN INDUSTRY UNDER SIEGE

The campaign is relentless. Ottawa and anti-smoking activists are intensifying their attack on Canada's tobacco manufacturers on all fronts. In January, Health Minister Perrin Beatty announced that by June, 1991, cigarette packages will have to carry still tougher health warnings in black-on-white, bold-faced type. The new printed messages will bluntly say that smoking can kill. Beatty also said that he plans to recommit an 80-year-old law governing the sale of tobacco to Ottawa, which anti-smoking lobbyists hope will lead to the introduction of regulations requiring that

## TOBACCO MANUFACTURERS FIGHT OTTAWA'S RULES AND EACH OTHER OVER A DECLINING MARKET

tobacco smokers be licensed. Predictably, cigarette company executives complain that such new restrictions lightens the smoke around their industry. Scott Aune Jordan, vice-president of marketing at Toronto-based R.J. Macdonald Inc.: "We have become the popular whipping boy. The Canadian tobacco industry is under siege."

Despite such protests, and a 6.6 per cent drop in cigarette consumption in Canada last year—the biggest one-year decline since smokers began buying out in large numbers in 1982—the tobacco industry has never been financially healthier. Although the actual number of cigarettes sold is declining, Canada's net million smokers are still growing about \$1.5 billion a year in revenues for the three major factories—R.J. Macdonald, Toronto-based Rothmans Benson & Hedges Inc. and Montreal-based Imperial Tobacco Ltd. And by reducing their payroll and plant capacity, adopting creative new marketing techniques and raising prices, the companies are starting to record gains. As well, Imperial and R.J. Macdonald are pressing ahead with their court battle against R.J. C-57—the 1988 law banning almost all remaining forms of tobacco advertising by 1993.

But, for now, the tobacco companies continue to prosper. Last year, revenues at Imperial, Canada's largest tobacco company with 25 per cent of the market, amounted at \$413 million, while profits jumped to \$234 million in 1989 from \$308 million in 1986. Rothmans, Canada's second largest cigarette manufacturer, with 26 per cent of the market, saw its share

Glen Abbey golf course (left): buying cigarettes, record profits

drop by two percentage points, and its total revenues decline to \$382 million in 1989 from \$325.6 million in 1988. Still, its profits jumped 13.8 per cent, to \$30.9 million, over the same period. R.J. Macdonald, the smallest producer in Canada, with 17 per cent of the market, is a private company and does not publicly release revenue and profit figures, but analysts

Beatty: toughening the restrictions



for which Statistics Canada has figures—represented 26 per cent of the market. The so-called little packs cited by the anti-smoking group contain 15 cigarettes and had a 20-cent-off discount label pinned to such a way as to cover most of the existing label waiting. "We believe that these relatives provide incentive for children to purchase tobacco products," says Leslie Hayes, a member of the Edmonton-based Action Committee on Smoking and Health in an attempt to deal with these concerns. Beatty promises to tighten existing restrictions on the sale of cigarette products to minors by licensing cigarette vendors and imposing stiff fines for selling cigarettes to people under 18 years of age.

Meanwhile, as they attempt to hang on to their slice of a declining market, the cigarette companies also are fighting some brands and promotions at women between the ages of 18 and 24—one of the few population groups with a relatively strong demand for cigarettes. Indeed, many analysts predict that by the turn of the century, women will be the first time make up a majority of Canadian smokers.

As it battles for a marketing edge at almost every opportunity, the industry also is fighting to improve its bottom line by slaking costs. Over the past two years, Imperial and Rothmans have each closed a manufacturing plant in Quebec, and the three companies have cut staff at their head offices. Self-ops-Macdonald's



Jordan. "In my view, staff cuts will be one of the last of its kind."

Still, the anti-smoke industry has employed to maintain their

profits is also the simplest: they have increased their prices. Since 1982, the federal government has increased cigarette taxes by more than 270 per cent. Along with provincial levies, taxes now account for about 70 per cent of the price of a pack of cigarettes, about \$4.25, and most increases levied by the provinces seem small in comparison. In his 1990 budget, Finance Minister Michael Wilson raised tobacco taxes by 84 per cent. The tobacco companies, in turn, raised their prices by an average of 7.5 per cent.

Still, the manufacturers' current rate of property is no harbinger of the future. A study by London-based ITC Statistics International Ltd. for the international tobacco industry predicts that, by 1996, Canadian cigarette consumption will decline to just two-thirds of its 1980 levels. Such a severe drop in cigarette consumption will inevitably reduce profits, and the study concludes that prospects for the Canadian industry are "particularly bleak." Unlike the domestic tobacco producers, however, official Ottawa and Canada's anti-smoking advocates should be pleased with that summation.

BRONIA MCKAY

## Magna's trying times

Frank Stronach faces his toughest challenge

Frank Stronach never backs down from a challenge. And the diesel-pump chairman of the giant Mercedes-Benz, automobile-parts manufacturer, Magna International Inc., is now struggling with one of the toughest trials of his career—nursing the empire he founded back to sound financial health. The Austrian-born dad-and-die maker, who arrived in Canada in 1954 with just \$200, has built Magna into an international conglomerate with 120 plants and sales last year of \$1.9 billion. But, at recent years, he devoted some of his time to pinning his management theories and other interests—nightclub owner, publisher and unsuccessful Liberal candidate in the 1988 federal election. Last year, however, as Magna staggered under a debt load of about \$1 billion, he returned to take control of day-to-day operations. In December, a default Stronach named shareholders at the company's annual meeting in Toronto that he would slash costs and proceed. "The worst is behind us."

But in recent weeks, Magna's fortunes have continued their dramatic decline. On March 1,

the company issued a statement saying that it will make a \$150-million reduction in the book value of its assets. The write-down will lower the value of Magna's equity, raising the rate of its debt to equity above the limits specified in agreements with some of its lenders. Magna stressed that it has not failed to meet any of its interest or principal repayments. But the company is facing a cash squeeze. For its first quarter ended last Oct. 31, Magna reported a \$9.9-million loss and warned shareholders to expect further losses. Last week, the company's stock, which traded as high as \$33.23 a share two years ago, plunged to \$4.55. Some industry analysts now predict that Magna's second-quarter operating loss—which it will release later this month—could be as high as \$30



Stronach: cost-cutting

million. As a result, Magna may sell or close some unprofitable plants.

Magna and other Canadian parts manufacturers are suffering because of a severe downturn in new car sales that began last fall. But Magna's problems have been aggravated by the company's rapid expansion. Since 1985, it has spent more than \$1 billion to expand and modernize its 120 plants across North America. Meanwhile, Stronach channeled funds to some of his personal projects, such as Villa, a glass tower that is now up for sale.

As well, some of Magna's parts plants are operating at less than half their capacity. Stronach, schooled in Magna's annual shareholders meeting that a new management team would initiate a tough cost-cutting program. To that end, Magna has already laid off an undisclosed number of employees and closed the executive dining room at its Mercedes headquarters. And Stronach is pressing ahead with the restructuring. But, unless he maintains the confidence of Magna's lenders, the company he forged could face a rocky ride in the 1990s.

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# Striking it rich on the energy frontier

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

At a time when the rhythm of activity in Alberta's Oil Patch is barely up to mellow slow-dancing, Canadian Hunter Exploration Ltd. continues to rock and roll its way to glory—claiming elephant fields, and finding them.

John Masters, who runs Hunter in Calgary along with his senior partner, Jim Gray, recently enhanced his reputation as a well-timed living legend in these parts by being awarded the first Distinguished Explorationist Medal by the Canadian Society of Petroleum Geologists for their past successes and current activities. Masters and Gray represent the fulfillment of every Alberta wildcatter's dream. They have already discovered the Deep Basin gas field at Stonewall, 60 km west of Grande Prairie, (second largest in North America) and currently find themselves inside what could turn out to be the continent's third-largest oilfield, in the United States.

Educated at Yale and at the University of Colorado, the Iowa-born Masters was only 28 when he outshone New Mexico's huge Ambassador Lake uranium deposit and later helped discover America's first oilfield. Moved to Canada in 1966 by Kerr-McGee, the nuclear power giant, he linked up with Gray (a University of British Columbia geologist who had cut his teeth on the Devonian reefs in Alberta's South Cove oilfield in southern Alberta) and the two men struck out on their own.

They established Hunter in 1973, and Mossada's chief executive officer, Al Powis, became their first major financial backer. His Toronto-based company acquired control of Hunter that same year, and Powis' faith was rewarded in 1976, when Masters found Elephant by drilling deep into an outcrop of porous rock he figured had once been the shoreline of an ancient sea. "You could hear the seagulls screaming across a hundred million years of time," he recalls. Estimates of Elmworth gas reserves have ranged up to four trillion cubic feet, enough to meet the needs of over three trillion households for a year.

*The oil and gas finds made by Canadian Hunter's Masters and Gray represent the fulfilment of every wildcatter's dream*

"At the moment," Masters told me in a recent interview, "we are part of the largest play we've ever been involved in. It's down in North Dakota and Montana at what's known as the Williston Basin. We're exploring the Bakken formation, an oil-sand, black organic shale, which is turning out to be one of the world's richest oil sources. With the new technology available to us we could drill down 10,000 feet, turn at a right angle and explore half a mile horizontally. The shale seems to underlie the whole of the Bakken Basin, a huge area a quarter the size of Wyoming. If oil of that deposit produces commercial-quality oil, and I think it will, it could be the world's third-largest petroleum reserve, just behind Prudhoe Bay and East Texas. And we could be number 1 at the acreage hold."

Six months ago, there were only two companies drilling at Bakken. Now, there are 40 exploratory wells at play, spread by major oil companies such as Exxon, Chevron, Conoco and Shell as well as by some smaller Rocky Mountain operators. Hunter got into the play by purchasing drilling rights on 600,000 acres for \$50 million as a partner with a small Denver outfit named Brownlee, Wallace, Armstrong & Bender. The Masters-Gray firm has

since sold all part of its investment at an astonishingly high multiple to Canadian Occidental Petroleum, which has pledged to spend further multimillion amounts in exploration funds.

At the same time, Hunter is busy drilling for oil in Canada, mainly in western Alberta and northeastern British Columbia. But its biggest Canadian play is not the Elmworth gas extension into northern British Columbia, where the reserves are estimated to hold up to three trillion cubic feet. The most exciting new find is the so-called Rag Border field north of Fort St. John, B.C., near the Alberta border. "This could be a big one," Masters says, "although it's so rare that no one is commenting very much about it yet. I figure there's at least a trillion and a half cubic feet of gas up there, and if the discovery had been made in the States, everybody would be naming corporations."

At the moment, Hunter is drilling more exploratory footage than any other Canadian firm, with most of the emphasis on natural gas rather than oil. Gray has been predicting a serious natural-gas shortage in the United States for several years now, which would drive up the price of the Canadian product. "He was right—except for the timing," Masters laughs. "And he was wrong about the timing because the United States keeps having these damn warm winters, so that they're not using as much gas as I had estimated them to."

Canadian Hunter isn't making any profit yet and probably won't in the foreseeable future. "Powis keeps asking me when we're going to start making some returns for him," says Masters, "and I just keep telling him, 'All we're holding you a ball of as much base here and we'll probably be making good money if we weren't piling one new project on top of the next one.' I keep reminding Powis we can cut out all this exploration anytime they tell us to. But that would cut out all the fun. Besides, the best time to build up reserves, both logistically and financially, is at the low point in the oil business cycle."

The Hunter partners keep stressing that the most significant growth in North American oil reserves took place from 1930 to 1945—during the Depression and the Second World War, because oil drilling and acreage prices were low. That will be hard to repeat because it has become so much more difficult to find new fields. But because there is so little competition from active drillers at the moment and acreage prices have dropped significantly, Masters believes this is precisely the best time to lay in new potential oil and gas fields. "And the time to slow down," he adds, "is when everybody else gets out about the industry. It's true of course that we're not the only ones who understand this logic, but we are the only people who are enlightened and well-financed a company in North America. Powis seems willing to divert a good chunk of the money he makes from mining into the oil business to build a revenue producer 20 years from now, superior to any base-metal extraction or his other mining operations."

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## The case of riddles

*A murder trial reaches its wrenching climax*

While the spectators stood transfixed, Julie Shawer leaped on the witness stand, her head bowed, her hands clasped and shouted in a voice racked by sobs: "No No No!" In the wrenching climax to 2½ hours of testimony last week, the 26-year-old mother from Knoxville, Ont., denied murdering her 11-month-old son, Dustin, by pushing him in an empty crib after he awoke in January, 1986. She also testified that she had gotten officers to Dustin's home 20 hours after reporting his disappearance, because of a dream that she had the night before. Several times during her heartfelt testimony, lawyers told the Tozanna court that, as her daughters "could see Dustin's bed was empty, and his shoes were gone around here there was snow, white snow."

At the outset of the trial, before Marlon Justice Mabel Kiss Camp, Brown pleaded not guilty to a charge of second-degree murder. During the next eight weeks, Crown attorney Brian Pomeroy and defense lawyer Jack Pankofsky called a total of 61 witnesses and submitted about 150 exhibits. The prosecution attempted to prove

*The Boxers: I kept seeing Dusty's face over and over again*

can ministers for several weeks, Bowser's appearance on the witness stand drew dozens of spectators, ranging from high-school students to senior citizens. The slender, English-born mother, dressed in a charcoal-colored knit sweater and black calf-length skirt, asserted her competence for about 15 minutes before breaking down as she described what she said was the last time she saw her son alive. She said that early in the afternoon of Jan. 14, 1988, she drove to the North Shore in downtown Kingston, a town of about 6,000 on the shores of Lake Thomas, northwest of Toronto, to make a deposit for her husband, John, manager of the nearby On Gas Bar. Bowser added that she married her husband on Bowser

and, then 25, from the car but left Dorian asleep in his car seat. At that point, Brown began sobbing uncontrollably. Modern Justice Via Camp said that she wanted to resume the trial for five minutes, but Piskobsky insisted upon continuing. The dispute was settled when Brown said that she wanted to continue with her testimony.

Bowers said that, after making her deposit, she left the bank carrying two balloons that were given to her by the bank teller for her children. "I got to the car," she testified, "I looked in and Dusty wasn't in his car seat. I screamed. 'Where's Dusty? Where's Dusty? He's gone.' " Bowers then said that she ran into the Kwik K convenience store next to the bank screaming, "My baby's gone, my baby's gone. Call the police."

Beverly, who wept several times during her testimony, told the court that Katoomba police questioned her briefly and then released her. She spent the rest of the day at her apartment with her husband and five-year-old sons, including John Norton, his wife, Helen, and Anna Serafini. She recalled that she went out once, to visit the grave of her mother, who died in 1963. That night, she said, she had difficulty getting to sleep and took a Motrinapain sleeping pill. Shortly afterward, Norton said, she had the dream in which she saw her son. "I don't know whether it was sleep or wake or awake," she told the court. "I didn't know what I'd seen. Every time I closed my eyes, I could see him and one of the boys."

The following morning, Newsom said she did not mention the dream to her husband because he was going to work. The accused woman added that she discussed it with Miles Sears and another friend later in the morning at

Dorcas Gilson, a doughnut and coffee shop next to the Cit Gas Bar. The two women advised her to tell the police about the dream. Bowers testified that she and Helen Sears put up posters about Daniel's disappearance in the downtown area, they went to the police station. After being told that the police were concentrating their search in the downtown area, Bowers told them that she was convinced they should be looking north of the town, based on what she had seen in the dream.

Bowers said that two officers, Brian Ferris and David Quera, finally agreed to help her search for Dustin. She said that she thought that the scene of her dream was near the local hospital, an area at the north end of the town that she knew well. When she reached the

hospital, she directed the policemen to take a road known locally as the B-Line road, a rural extension of Kancardine's main street. "We were just driving," she told the court. "I didn't know what we were looking for."

As they went north, a strange feeling came over her, Bowers said. "Something was coming up at," she testified. "I kept seeing Danny's face over and over again. I felt very close to him, as though he were calling out to me. I felt he was there somewhere." But the feeling began to fade, and the police officers decided to turn around. Bowers said that she believed the

Collins testified that she saw a child in the passenger seat beside Flowers, but that the car seat behind her was empty.

Police and medical experts who testified for the Crown left a number of key questions unanswered. Ontario Provincial Police Const Brian Wagner testified that tests failed to produce any fingerprints on Brewer's car. He said that the vehicle sat unattended for about 24 hours before it was checked, and any fingerprints could have dissolved as the result of overnight temperature changes. Medical experts told the court that they could not say



officers were going to drive back to town and that, in desperation, she told them to search the first side road she saw.

It happened to be a narrow highway leading to a housing subdivision called McGowan Place. Bowers said that she told the officers that a clump of bushes near the house resembled those she had seen in her dream. When the officers searched the bushes, they discovered Dean Bowers's body. Before the afternoon was over, they charged the mother with second-degree murder.

Grown attorney Farmer based his case on the promise that Flowers must have led the police to her son's body because she had a guilty conscience. Farmer included his cross-examination by asking "Was it guilt, Mrs. Bowers? Was that what was driving you?" But Bowers flatly denied Farmer's allegation.

Earlier in the trial, Farmer called several witnesses who reported seeing Brown on Jan. 14 shortly before the reported her lady's disappearance. Linda Lockhart, a resident of the village of Inverness, 15 km north of Kancardine, said that she was driving south on the B-Line road shortly before 1 p.m. when she saw Brown driving north in the direction of McConnell Place. Kancardine resident JoAnne Collins said that she was sitting in her car in a municipal parking lot at about 1 p.m. on the same day when Brown called out to her inside her

precisely when the baby died or how long he had lain in the snow. Dr. Charles Smith, who performed an autopsy at the Hospital for Sick



For his part, Pinkobly said that evidence introduced by the Crown cleared his client of any wrongdoing. He argued that the medical experts' testimony showed that "the earliest time in all probability that the child was dropped in the water was 3:28 p.m."—24 hours after Bowen reported the child missing, and at a time when the police were probably already interviewing her.

Borden testifying at the prosecution's medical conference. Penick also called Dr. James Ogleman, an expert on hypothermia from St. Paul, Minn., as a defense witness. Ogleman testified that after examining the autopsy report and slides of tissue samples taken from the child's body, he concluded that Dumas may have still been alive when he was discovered. Ogleman also said that, in his opinion, the child could not have been abandoned before 10 p.m. on Jan. 14. That would mean that Newsom could not be guilty, because his whereabouts for the entire day were accounted for.

is his open refusal to let the jury. Pinkokey and that he would present evidence that would "raise some things in your mind so it will not be responsible for the death of his child." Pinkokey's strategy was to focus on the activities of Powers' brothers, John and Alan, on Jan. 14, and on circumstances in their hometown. Both brothers admitted that they had driven along the D-Line road on the day Darnita disappeared because of "a gut feeling that something was wrong with a member of the family." Alan Sears testified that after arriving there he drove along the road "feeling the anything suspicious." Both denied having any involvement in the child's death.

Defense witness Gordon Seigel, a bank employee who lives in the area, may have provided the strongest evidence to show that Dauter was abducted. He testified that an unfamiliar man, carrying a baby, rushed by his car about 1 p.m. on Jan. 14 near the parking lot where Flowers had left her car when she went to make the bank deposit. Seigel said that, like Dauter, the baby was wearing socks, in accordance with what true. She added that she didn't know the man, but he jumped into a built-up truck and sped away. But since the police have failed to locate Seigel's unidentified stranger, who appeared as just another mysterious element in a murder case that seemed to abound in riddles.

# Paying for the past

A brainwashing victim seeks compensation

**L**inda Macdonald says that the first half of her life is a blank. The 53-year-old Vancouver woman adds that her earliest memory is of scolding to a kitchen while her husband, Philip Crowe, gave her some pills. Then, she says she remembers being led to a livingroom sofa and gazing out the window as Crowe left for work. In 1963, at the age of 36, Macdonald had just emigrated from Martin's Alley Mental Institute after six months of experimental treatment allegedly conducted without her consent by the eminent Seattle-born psychiatrist Elwen Cameron. Macdonald claims that, as a result of Cameron's authoritarian treatment, she was not only stripped of all memory up to the time of her release from the psychiatric institute, but that she also lost to ensure such basic skills as reading and writing. "I watched and copied people, trying to be a credible human being," Macdonald told Maclean's. "I was trying very hard to stay in the present. I had no interest at all in the past."

Now, Macdonald is seeking compensation

for damage to her memory and other mental processes. Her lawyer, Thomas Berger, a former justice of the British Columbia Supreme Court, last week submitted an 85-page report on Macdonald's case to federal Justice Minister Kim Campbell. The report contends that Cameron's treatment of Macdonald was part of an inadequately supervised series of psychiatric experiments that were financially supported by, at different times, the federal department of health and welfare and the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). The report also claims that, because of that financial support, Ottawa must accept some of the responsibility for what happened to Macdonald. "Linda Macdonald's case is one that cries out for settlement," the report concludes. Berger did not disclose last week the amount of money that Macdonald is seeking as acknowledgment of her claim.

Berger noted that in October, 1988, the CIA, which helped fund Cameron's work from 1957 until 1966, agreed to a total payment of \$907,500 to settle claims brought in a Wash-

ington court by nine other Canadians whom Cameron had treated. The CIA helped to fund work at the Allan Institute because the agency was interested in possible Cold War applications of Cameron's experiments in brainwashing and mind control.

At the Allan Institute, Cameron, who died in 1967, treated patients suffering from mental illnesses, including depression, with high-voltage electroshock therapy, long periods of drug-induced sleep (Berger's report said that Macdonald was put to sleep for at least 88 days) and a technique called psychodrama, which involved prolonged exposure to repetitive taped messages. Cameron also gave some of his patients the hallucinogenic drug LSD. The doctor said that, by using such techniques, he was trying to fundamentally alter, or "deprogram," the behavior of mentally ill patients.

Macdonald was living in Quebec City in March, 1963, when her family doctor sent her to Cameron for examination. Married in 1955 at 18, Macdonald had five children, including twins, in less than four years. She entered the Allan Institute suffering from severe postpartum depression, a condition suffered by some women after they give birth.

Berger says that Cameron's methods of treatment amounted to medical malpractice because he "did not obtain his patients' consent to his experiments" and because his "experiments were themselves a marked departure from the standards of the time." For her part, Macdonald said that "my anger is directed at this government, which has whitewashed and

covered up what happened for years and years." She says that she was unaware of the exact nature of her treatment at the Allan until she read in article in the Vancouver *Province* in 1984 on Cameron's activities. "I was horrified," she recalled. "I kept reading it, but I took a while to believe this had really happened."

In 1987, Macdonald was included on her quest for compensation by filing a lawsuit against the Canadian government, which has not yet come to trial. The next year, Ottawa announced that it was paying \$20,000 to each of the nine former patients who were suing the CIA to help pay their legal costs. But Macdonald said that federal officials told her she was not entitled to financial assistance because she was suing the government. Officials also cited a federally commissioned 1986 report by former Conservative member of Parliament George Cooper that absolved the Canadian government of any responsibility for Cameron's work. Still, Berger said, the Cooper report cannot stand, because of its own internal conflicts, and because new evidence that has become avail-



Macdonald, NDP MP Steven Robson: her first 26 years are a blank

able completely undermines the report."

Berger argued that CIA officials probably settled with the most Canadian patients in 1983 because they were aware that Clinton was using patients as part of his experiments in social conditioning therapy. "The same evidence," declared Berger, "is equally compelling against the government of Canada."

For her part, Macdonald, who was promoted to the justice portfolio in last month's cabinet shuffle, told reporters that she was not settled with Macdonald's case. Later, a spokesman in Campbell's office said that the minister had instructed justice department officials to meet with Berger and his client.

Meanwhile, Macdonald, who supported herself as a nightclub singer during the 1970s, now works at a Vancouver training center as a counsellor for adults returning to the workforce. She separated from her husband and children after her treatment at the Allan, and her marriage to Crowe, a psychiatrist, ended in 1979. Now, Macdonald says that she is in regular contact with most of her children. "I am determined to have a family," she

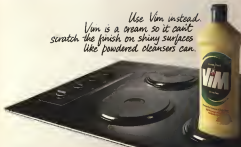
said. She is equally determined, she added, to make Ottawa compensate her for her misery after Cameron's treatment. "It's impossible to pay somebody back for 26 years of their life," said Macdonald. "But there should be a gesture that says, 'This error should have happened.'"

TOM POWIS

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# Influx from the East

*A new wave of refugees lands at Gander*

For several years, some local residents have referred to the northern Newfoundland community of Gander as "the hole in the wall," a reference to the barrier that once divided East and West Berlin. The reason: small numbers of East German citizens attempting to escape to the West boarded flights bound for Cuba and landed at Gander, a traditional refueling point for Eastern European airlines. After contacting West German diplomatic officials in Canada, the detectors would then board return flights to West Berlin—and freedom. But since the formidable border defenses separating Eastern Europe from the West were swept away last year, the trickle of refugees from Eastern Europe arriving at Gander has become a flood. And unprecedented numbers of citizens of Warsaw Pact nations landing at Gander airport say that they now want to stay in Canada. So far this year, 1,140 travellers have requested refugee status in Gander, com-

pared with 500 in 1989 and only 208 in 1988.

The new arrivals, including 790 Bulgarian nationals so far this year—have sparked controversy and a debate over the costs involved in the process. The office of Eastern Europeans has placed a heavy workload on federal immigration services and accommodation in both Gander and 300 km to the south-east, in St. John's, where the would-be refugees are kept while they await immigration hearings. Philip Field, St. John's-based director of federal immigration for Newfoundland, said last week that an augmented staff is still processing about 110 of last year's refugee claimants. As well, Newfoundland Social Services Minister John Eford, whose department pays half the cost of feeding and sheltering the applicants, said the cash-poor Newfoundland government was hard-pressed to cover the costs involved, which amounted to \$305,000 in January. Said Eford: "It is not only an adminis-

trative nightmare—we just can't afford it."

At the same time, some Newfoundlanders say that they resent the use of tax dollars for people who they suspect have funds of their own and have come to Canada to improve their personal economic situation rather than to escape political repression. Said Bridget Foster, executive director of the Association for New Canadians, a St. John's agency that helps to house Eastern European immigrants: "It would seem that, in quite a large number of cases, they came for economic reasons."

For their part, the arrivals at Gander who say that they want to remain in Canada admit that economic conditions in their homelands are grim. But they also argue that the political freedom promised in the wake of the massive changes that have swept Eastern Europe during the past seven months has yet to materialize. Elizabeth Owsenick, 34, a nurse teacher from the southern Bulgarian city of Plovdiv, and her 34-year-old husband, Pali, a mechanic, were two of a group of about 45 who left a Moscow-to-Cuba flight aboard a Soviet Aeroflot aircraft on Feb. 26 and told officials in Gander that they wanted to stay in Canada. Owsenick, three months pregnant and a temporary resident, has spent 12 days, along with 60 other refugee claimants, at the recently acquired Salsola's Motel in Gander, a 130-room establishment where double rooms rent for \$65 per person per day. She said that she and her husband planned to leave the flight at Gander from the time they left Plovdiv last



Bulgarians in St. John's: high costs and a heavy load on housing resources

month. "We hope conditions of life will be better here," she told Marlene's. She said that, even though the new Canadian government in Bulgaria "speaks a lot of new freedoms, it is only words. We don't know what the future will bring."

Despite such concerns, Foster said that some of the refugee claimants arriving in New-

foundedland seemed to be disappointed by what they saw. "I think some people had been watching a lot of television," and Foster. "They believed they were going to land in Dallas and see J. R. come out of the woodwork. It's not quite what they expected."

Meanwhile, the length of time that it takes to process the flood of immigrants and the cost of

looking after them are at growing concern in Newfoundland. Field said that, in spite of an increase from one to 25 in the number of officials hearing refugee claims in St. John's, it will be several months before claimants undergo the first of two possible refugee-determination hearings. It is that prospect that concerns Newfoundland's Eford, who flew to Ottawa last week to ask Immigration Minister Barbara McDougall for additional funds, amounting to \$48 million or more, to help pay the costs of accommodating the refugee claimants and to finance additional support services. According to Eford, McDougall said that she would take his request to the federal cabinet. Eford said that McDougall promised that her department would look into "how to curb the numbers" of would-be refugees landing at Gander.

Said Eford: "I am opposed to 'closing the door' to refugee claimants arriving in Gander, a community of 12,000 that depends on air traffic from Eastern Europe for its livelihood. That Eford expressed concern that, if the flow of Eastern European arrivals in Newfoundland increases during the coming year, refugee-related costs could eat up nearly a quarter of his ministry's budget of about \$140 million. In a province experiencing a series of downturns in the fishing industry and heightened pressure on welfare costs, that is a daunting prospect.

GLEN ALLEN with RUSSELL KINGSTON in St. John's

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## PEOPLE

### Enforced bilingualism

When actress Jane Seymour was cast as Madame Antoinette in both the movie and 11 min-series versions of *The French Revolution*, the British papers had a heyday. "It made front-page news that a British actress was starring as France's queen," recalled Seymour. "The British loved rubbing the French nose in it." But for her



Seymour: 'Failed school exams in French'

part, Seymour, 50, said that she was terrified to discover that she had to perform in French for the movie before securing her role in English for the min-series, which begins on the city network on April 6. Said Seymour: "I thought, 'You I never in trouble. I failed my school exams in French.'" Still, she said that she worked hard to learn enough French for the role in just a few weeks. Clearly, bilingualism happens quickly under pressure.

### The comic joy of Sister Dress-up

British comic actress Ene Iltis says that dressing up as a man made him uncomfortable—but only physically. The 46-year-old comedian, who was one of the stars of the popular 1970s TV series *Monty Python's Flying Circus*, added

that the discomfort was worth the price of making people laugh. "It's my only skill and the only thing that interests me," said Iltis, who stars as a petty thief disguised as a man to avoid the police in the comedy *Mao on the Run*, to be released on March 16. "If I

Iltis: disguised as a man



### A personal choice

Quebecer Chantal Daigle is back in the spotlight—voluntarily. Last summer, Daigle tried to avoid publicity while successfully lighting an incense brought by her former boyfriend protesting her from leaving an abortion. Last week, Daigle, 33, released the story of her ordeal in a book, *The Only Choice: Mine*. But the book had to be recalled when an uncorrected version was accidentally printed. Still, for Daigle, that delay was only a minor irritant.

Daigle: telling the story of her ordeal

### A great Canadian hero aims high

Born victim Joe Phillips, 16, who suffered burns to 95 per cent of his body when his Orillia, Ont., home caught fire in March, 1988, now says that he is determined to become a pilot. He adds that he will begin studying for his pilot's license after recovering from a cornea operation to amputate his foot, which was irreparably damaged in the fire. Author Murray Knudsen, whose *It's Live Again, the Hardest Minute of Joe Phillips*, was recently released, says that he is not surprised by Phillips' goal. Added Knudsen: "His courage runs very deep."

### Starting over

When her three-year-long mystery TV series was recently cancelled by the producers because of poor ratings, actress Louise Robey says she still sits alone. "My head is still spinning," said the 36-year-old who played the center of a suit-torque drop full of married couples in *Friday the 13th*. But the blonded actress, who has sung with rock groups in France and New York City, added that she is "finally taking charge" and is moving to Los Angeles to work on a new rock album—and a cookbook. Said Robey of her plans: "This is like a coming of age for me."



Robey: 'taking charge' of her life



didn't do that, I'd just hang around at home and kick the furniture." Still, Iltis added that he found it "very hard" to do a man's sample, the traditional breadwinner, to cover his hair and ears. "It's like wearing ear blinkers," he said. "I couldn't hear anything with it on." Added Iltis: "Now I know why some men take a vow of silence."

# The day Maclean's went underground.



Maclean's London Bureau Chief Andrew Phillips gets close to the news he reports, such as the day he took a risk-filled tour of the Romanian security police's underground maze under Bucharest.

However and wherever Phillips gets to work, his reports on the revolutionary changes in Europe appear only in Canada's *Weekly Newsmagazine*.

**Maclean's**

THE WELL-INFORMED CHOICE.



Michael (left), Peter and Margo Timmins. Above: presursors of phenomenal success

## MUSIC

# Melancholy mavericks

Cowboy Junkies chart their own course

Michael and Margo Timmins were storing themselves for brutal winters. From some critics, their second major-label album due to be released this week, the brother and sister who make up half of Toronto's revered Cowboy Junkies said that they are up against the "September jinx"—the daunting challenge of matching their earlier album's success. The group's breakthrough came with *The Trinity Session*, the 1987 record that defied practically all pop conventions, but went on to become one of the most acclaimed albums in recent indie history. It was recorded in a studio but in the downtown Church of the Holy Trinity, and out over weeks of painstaking sessions but in a single day. And the collection of slow, sad, and, above all, quiet music cost only \$350 to make, a tiny fraction of the thousands spent on even top albums. Still, *The Trinity Session* went on to sell more than one million copies internationally, a first that few Canadian acts achieved. Last week, Michael and Margo predicted that critical acclaim of the latter was a thick blanket of pure melancholy, but *The Caution Horse*—one million copies of which are on order worldwide—will be fierce. But their anxiety was mixed with optimism. Said group leader Michael: "We

want people to realize that there's more to us than a tiny album recorded in a church by a band with a fuzzy style."

Clearly, in music, the Junkies' record company, behavior in the mainstream's ability to duplicate the success of *Trinity*, which was the band's first nomination for group of the year (the awards ceremony takes place on March 18), is late January, late—the musical conglomerate that controls *Rolling Stone*—few as journalists from Italy, France and Britain for a private presentation of the Junkies' new material in the band's favorite Toronto bar, Chateau's. The response was overwhelmingly positive, with Chris Roberts of Toronto's *Midday Jockey* calling their performance "infectious." The concert served notice that while *The Caution Horse* continues the Junkies' tradition of combining sparse, country-flavored acoustic arrangements with smart lyrics and intense emotion, the band is exploring some new facets. The first album wrapped the latter in a thick blanket of pure melancholy, but *The Caution Horse* contains a colorful quilt of many textures, moods and tempos.

The Junkies—guitarist and songwriter Michael Timmins, 33, sister Margo, 29, the singer, and brother Peter, 25, the drummer, along with bassist Alan Anton, 30—see themselves as charting a new course. "We're finding our own musical voice," said Michael. "By not playing a lot of music on electronic instruments, we're not playing the game—but we're still selling records." The band members are regarded in the industry as being among the most thoughtful purveyors of pop music. "They're interesting and intelligent," said producer Peter Musky. "We talk about politics, books and movies, which isn't done on some of the radio's week with."

Among the Junkies' high-profile admirers are Bruce Springsteen, Bruce Ratt and Paul Simon, all of whom have come backstage after performances to congratulate the group. Another fan is Jim Carrey of Toronto's popular *Blue Rodeo*. "I find their music very soothing," said Carrey. "It shows the way you hear things, like all good music." Carrey added that the Junkies, despite the sorrowful tone of *Trinity*, are joyful in person. "They have a warmth and charm that carries from being in a close family."

Taking a look from reviewers last week, Michael and Margo Timmins were articulate and affable. Their openness was apparent as they lunched over bowls of spicy garbanzo soup in a Cajun restaurant. They are the third and fourth youngest among the children born to John Timmins, now owner of an appliance-leasing company, and his housewife wife Barbara. Michael recalled that, when they were growing up in Montreal—the family moved to the Toronto suburb of Etobicoke in 1977—the Timmins children "always hung out together. If someone was one of us, you're, they'd know they'd be a couple of other artists."

Margo said that she is much more confident about her singing and stage presence since the

Twenty album. In the early days, she was in shy as concert that she rarely allowed the audience between songs. But after several live shows, she appears to have drawn her act—to the point where she agreed to pose for the "Women We Love" feature of an issue of *Queer* magazine last year. Margo, who married the band's lawyer, Graham Henderson, last year, said that she sings now longer quite as frequently. "I still get a sick stomach before I go on," she admitted, "but it's not like the old days when I'd wish they'd just turn out the lights."

With Margo, Margo said Michael said that they wanted to prove they were not stuck in a group act. The new album includes songs with a dissonant sound, but it also features some slower tracks. And while *Trinity* created a rustic atmosphere filled by lyrics poetry, Margo has a richer, warmer timbre. The band's country flavor is a long way from Michael's musical interest as a youth, when he was a devotee of rock. The band was not particularly musical, but Michael and Jonatan (bassist Anton)—a band since disintegrated—formed their first band with a high school. Later, the two experimented with jazz, aggressive rock guitar, before discovering what Michael calls the quieter but "really edgy" sounds of blues and country music.

Then, four years ago, Michael asked Margo, who was studying social work at college and had never sung professionally, to join a performance in his west-end garage. After months of rehearsing, the band launched itself at the underground Royal club and recorded the blue-infused *Whisper Of North Pole*, which band members distributed themselves. They chose the name Cowboy Junkies because, Michael said, "we wanted to attract attention."

Their first album sold only 18,000 copies, but the group began to win a loyal local following. The first live show, their first album with a major distribution, in Toronto, the band from small clubs to large concert halls. Margo recalls that making the record in a church, with the band gathered around simple microphones, was extraordinary. "We were all required by what each of us was doing," she said. "We were singing 'I'm So Lonely' I could cry. I could hear my voice one up to the top of the church and then that back down." Added Michael: "There was this invisible interaction in the way we could hear each other, as if we were singing the top of the line."

With the success of *The Trinity Session*, the Junkies were able to quit their day jobs—Michael worked as a cleaner, Margo as a secretary. Peter as a waiter and Alan as a blue-jean dresser. They are not yet wealthy, but say they are happy just to be able to pursue music full time. Despite their modest success, the response to *The Caution Horse*, Michael said that he hopes will dispel some of the logic surrounding the band. He added, "We want the pleasure thing to be more as that we can just go on doing our stuff." With the powerful songs and evocative setting of *The Caution Horse*, the Cowboy Junkies may be able to put the upturn in pop behind them.

NICHOLAS JENNINGS

## Rock 'n' reel

Spirit of the West makes Celtic-flavored pop

While increasing numbers of bands and Celtic folkies have found their way into the folkies' ranks of acoustic instruments, new groups have embraced them as passionately as Vancouver's Spirit of the West. The four-member band fuses traditional Celtic music with modern pop. The band's sound is a mix of Celtic and modern, with a heavy dose of Highland air to the music. Since the band was formed seven years ago by singer-guitarist

Mike McLean, Spirit of the West actually incorporates a number of truly traditional rock-instrumental Celtic tunes—into their compositions. Kelly's traditional Celtic and modern, together with Hugh MacLennan, lead. McLean's acoustic, add a strong wall of Highland air to the music. Since the band was formed seven years ago by singer-guitarist



McLean (left), McLean, Kelly, MacLean: drawing on Irish and Scottish traditions

John McLean, 37, and Scottish-born Geoffrey Kelly, 33, Spirit of the West built a loyal following at folk festivals on both sides of the Atlantic, selling over 10,000 copies of their first album, *Spirit of the West*. "There's a lot of Celtic music in the world," said McLean. "We've been able to bring it to a wider audience." The band's sound is a mix of Celtic and modern, with a heavy dose of Highland air to the music. Since the band was formed seven years ago by singer-guitarist

Mike McLean, Spirit of the West actually incorporates a number of truly traditional rock-instrumental Celtic tunes—into their compositions. Kelly's traditional Celtic and modern, together with Hugh MacLennan, lead. McLean's acoustic, add a strong wall of Highland air to the music. Since the band was formed seven years ago by singer-guitarist

J.E.







# Poet in captivity

Nelligan brings a Quebec hero back to life

In the final years of the last century, a brilliant Montreal youth wrote poetry of astounding, defiant beauty. But when he is only 18, his upper-middle-class family conscripts him to an asylum. Broken in spirit, he stops writing and lives out the remaining 42 years of his life in mental institutions. The story sounds like a canonical tragic

The poet and his two sisters were the children of a French-Canadian mother and an Irish father, who refused to speak French. Brilliantly staged and powerfully sung, Nelligan is often riveting. But it is also flawed: Gagnon, who is best known for writing gloriously pretty, classically influenced pop instrumental, has composed a score that never approaches the raw

(Michel Côté) is nearing the end of his life in an asylum. A visiting literature professor tells him to recite his most famous poem, *Le sans-asse d'Ir* (The Golden Step). When the poet cannot recall it, his family and a teenage version of himself (Ives Scudamore) materialize and take him back into the past. The older Nelligan watches in anguish as his tragedy unfolds.

At first, Nelligan is a poetic mother, Émile (Lucie Forestier), and his poet-mother, Suzanne (Suzanne Bellavance), encourage the young poet. But as Nelligan increasingly reveals the radical, impassioned writing—and the drinking debauchery—of such French Romantic poets as Arthur Rimbaud and Charles Baudelaire, his champions come to agree with Nelligan's sister, practical-minded Esther, that the boy must be put away.

The struggle between social restraints and radical impulses is played out against the linguistic tensions within Nelligan's family. The father and son disagree, Est, singing mostly in English, while the others sing in French. But Tremblay: "They were a bilingual family, they all understood one another, but they refused to communicate." While Tremblay assumes that social repression had more to do with Nelligan's downfall than with the two attitudes of his family, the linguistic differences lay prominently in the open.

In the first act, the telephone father and daughter come across as Pollock brothers. But they become less two-dimensional as the poet becomes increasingly difficult—there is some basis for the father's description of his son as "that self-indulgent trait." And, Baudelaire's seamless direction matches the power and subtlety of Tremblay's text. Among the many strong performers, Gagnon is vocally and dramatically outstanding as the older



Côté, Scudamore: a Quebecer punished for emulating the excesses of the French Romantics

to be true, but it is in fact what happened to Émile Nelligan, the revered French-Canadian poet who died in 1941. Now, his tragic life has become the basis of a play open by two of contemporary Quebec's leading cultural figures, composer André Gagnon and playwright Michel Tremblay. Sung by prominent Quebec pop stars and mounted by l'Opéra de Montréal, the \$600,000 production is already a popular success since opening early this month at Montreal's Place des Arts, where it runs until March 18. It has enjoyed non-stop audience and repeated standing ovations. A recording will be available within the next few weeks, and the show opens at the National Arts Centre in Ottawa on March 28.

Apart from its age-old theme of a misunderstood struggling to assert his artistic freedom, the story of Nelligan has a timely resonance for Quebec and for Canada as a whole.

dramatic intensity of Nelligan's life.

Tremblay, who has chronicled the lives of working-class Quebecers in such compassionate but unsentimental plays as *Les Belles Sœurs* (1980), began thinking about collaborating on an opera with Gagnon 10 years ago. The two men did not find a suitable subject until Gagnon read Paul Wyszynski's 1967 biography of Nelligan. The composer said that he was deeply moved by the story of a young man who "dared to defy the pre-established laws of an intolerant society." Recalled Tremblay: "I had the feeling, reading the biography, that he had once. Society killed him intellectually when he was 18; he died again 42 years later."

As in his hit play *Alibi* (1986) or *Five Times* (1986), in which five actresses play the same character at different ages, Tremblay decided to create more than one Nelligan. At the opera's beginning, a stoop-shouldered Nelligan

Nelligan, Scudamore, in the role of the young poet, seems slightly stiff in comparison. As Nelligan's mother, Forestier is a powerhouse. In fact, her Émile is so intense that she detracts from the tragedy of her son's fate.

But the real weakness of Nelligan in the music: Gagnon, who writes pleasant if uninspired melodic lines, seems unable to rise to the sweeping passions of the story. And he substitutes violence for high drama. Symbols clash, his characters' thinking and look, and his staid strings scrape from the orchestra pit. The performers are so powerfully captured that when the young Nelligan falls drunkenly at one point, he lands with a reverberating boom. That sound and key is excessive—even for an opera about an imprisoned young man who vows to "live and die" for his poetry.

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# Nabisco shredded

Two books chart the 'deal of the century'

Barry's pen has posted over the New York City buy-out firm Kolberg Kravis Roberts & Co. (KKR) was its most recent and its most successful. In 1985, KKR bought the company for \$2.5 billion. What became widely known as the 'deal of the century' because of its sheer size, the struggle for KKR began in October, 1988. It engaged a who's who of the financial community who sponsored the takeover: more of the 1980s—Drexel Burnham Lambert, Shearman Latham Humes, KKR, Salomon Bros. and dozens of Wall Street's hottest-bidding lawyers and investment bankers.

Yet a series of disasters in the deal making world, including the bankruptcy of high-flying Canadian Robert Campeau and, more recently, Drexel Burnham Lambert itself, makes two new accounts of the battles that KKR won less than the epitaph for an era of financial excess. Both *Barrenness at the Core: The Fall of KKR Nabisco* by Bryan Burroughs and John Heilbrunn (Harper & Collins, \$25.95), and *True Greed: What Really Happened in the Battle for KKR Nabisco* by Hope Largent (Penguin, \$24.95), rather than being used to take full account of the havoc the asset strata have wreaked on their trading operations. Still, the two books do a splendid job of revealing the machinations of the dramatic deal of a deal-crash decade.

What emerges in Burroughs' *Barrenness at the Core* is the basic drama and deal process of corporate America in not pretty. F. Ross Johnson, the Washington-based executive of KKR Nabisco who headed the fight by proposing a \$91-a-share, \$21.2-billion leveraged buy-out of his company, appears in both books to combine greed and naivete in almost equal measures. A gifted marketer, Johnson first climbed quickly to the top of New York-based Standard Brands, a food-products company. In 1981, he became president of Nabisco Brands, former chief of mergers between Drexel Burnham Lambert and Salomon, another American food giant. By 1986, he was chief executive officer at KKR Nabisco, the combination of Nabisco and the even larger US cigarette firm R. J. Reynolds Industries.

Both books portray Johnson as a ruthless, ruthless character who tended to climb only over the older executives who sponsored him. Johnson goes to late-night ball sessions with friends, he liberally used such corporate perquisites as company limousines, limousines and even a corporate plane. In his day, Johnson was a G. Shepherd & Co. and went through his takeover of KKR Nabisco less than three years after making his top job, Johnson sought a management

contract for his team that could have awarded him personally \$120 million in a few years.

His decision to put the company in play—based on frustration about how fast Nabisco sales were dropping down KKR's share price—looked foolish in retrospect. Yet while Johnson looks as a swelling symbol of executive greed



Johnson combining greed with naivete

in the 1980s, his firm paid before those of the Wall Street executives who managed to avoid or contain his bid. Both *Barrenness at the Core* and *True Greed* sketch to ugly picture of egoism and money lost among the top deal-makers. At one point, an accord broke down because Salomon Bros. simply refused to share credit for raising the money with Drexel.

Johnson's key mistake, it appears, was relying on Shearman Latham Humes and Salomon Bros. to support his initial bid. Both firms were buying badly after the 1987 stock market crash, and neither had much experience in managing-led leveraged buy-outs. One of the initial arrangements was Drexel and

KKR, the legend players in so-called junk finance and leveraged buy-outs respectively. The result was a bidding war that became a test of financial daring largely between a KKR principal, Henry Kravis, and Shearman chief Peter Cohen. Along the way, Johnson largely lost control of the process as his Shearman-Salomon backers and their KKR-Drexel rivals waged a bitterly competitive auction that cost the buyers Kravis, nearly \$9 billion more than Johnson's original bid—\$1 billion if it is lost to an array of lawyers and investment bankers.

Barrenness provides a far more exhaustive—and misleading—account of the battle. Lacking with rich background detail on most of the people and firms involved, the book is far-ranging, shallow. That *True Greed* is more accessible, but at the same time not as well-written. Neither book fully satisfies a reader looking for an analysis of the takeover frenzy of the 1980s. There is simply too much day-by-day chronology to wade through. A tentative conclusion, however, is that the up battle, like many other takeovers, was driven as much by Wall Street's insatiable appetite for fees as by any long-term economic rationale.

Meanwhile, Johnson, who started the fight and lost control of his firm in Kravis, still managed to pull the rug out on a golden parachute worth \$84 million. Setting up that rich severance package seems to be one thing that he planned well.

LENNY GLENN

## Moclean's

### RENT-LEASE LIST

#### FICTION

- 1 *The Silence of the Lambs*, Lawrence Sanders, Dutton (12)
- 2 *Devils and Desires*, James (12)
- 3 *Witness*, Jonathan (12)
- 4 *Salmon's Deadly Sin*, Hester (12)
- 5 *Reverend's Piousness*, E. (12)
- 6 *Hollyhock*, T. (12)
- 7 *Quercus*, F. (12)
- 8 *The Great and Secret Show*, E. (12)
- 9 *According to John and the Kid*, M. (12)
- 10 *The Bad Place*, E. (12)

#### NONFICTION

- 1 *Barrenness at the Core*, Burroughs (12)
- 2 *Barrenness at the Core*, Burroughs (12)
- 3 *Barrenness at the Core*, Burroughs (12)
- 4 *Barrenness at the Core*, Burroughs (12)
- 5 *Barrenness at the Core*, Burroughs (12)
- 6 *Barrenness at the Core*, Burroughs (12)
- 7 *Barrenness at the Core*, Burroughs (12)
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# Is it a train? Or was it the Pimm's?

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

I was sent best of all by Oscar Wilde, who said most things best of all. "Venezia Falls," he pronounced after visiting there, "is the severest disappointment in a holiday's life." We somehow have come through life with an understanding that the only phenomenon better was Victoria Falls on the Zambezi, which is the border between Zimbabwe and Zambia. In fact, Victoria Falls are not even the highest waterfalls in the world. That title belongs to the Angel Falls in Venezuela. They are not the widest. That's the Khone Falls in Laos, almost 11 km wide. They are not even the biggest in terms of annual flow. That's the Ganges between Deval and Pimpri. All Victoria Falls is the greatest constant of falling water on earth, the most spectacular thing seen since clumping the wheels of 18th Century Zulu's head.

From miles away you can see, rising in the sky, a steady cloud of mist that falls as the gentle dew on a million tourist cameras. The decade that Theodore was the original African safari, it was that way when Dr. David Livingstone "discovered" the falls in 1855 and named them after his queen and they continue to roar and show their way through the gorge where caravans happen are sometimes swept over. In the stately old Victoria Falls Hotel, the main economic hotel in the world, the main bar is named the Pimm's. During the Kennedy era, named staffers on the campaign plane used to play a game of here's-the-answer, you-suppole-the-question. The winning answer was "Dr. Livingstone I presume." The question? "What's your full name, Dr. Pimm?" I deplore.

In ancient, naturally, a proud Zambian to repeat such a theatrical myth that Livingstone, whose statue overlooks the site, "discovered" Victoria Falls. The Toga who lived on the river obviously had never noticed them and he passed them on. The Portuguese were on the Zambesi plains and along the Zambezi as long ago as the 15th century. There was a Bimpong, one Luchian Mager, who was governor of the falls in 1881. Their mistake, of course, was not arranging for Stanley to dis-



cover them as the first man to find them. "Luchian Mager, I presume?" just doesn't quite have the same ring to it.

The best way to describe it is that Livingstone, his memory now preserved forever in the Pimm's bar, did not really discover this heavenly sight but introduced it to science. Clerical kid, he arranged to be born in Scotland in 1813. He graduated as a doctor and later joined the London Missionary Society (Africa) to do the day right up to Nelson Mandela, still reverberates—good and bad—from the old British missionary impulse to rescue the savage. Livingstone started his own mission in 1844 and made many trips to Africa. He crossed it from coast to coast, the first European to do so.

On first seeing The Smoke that Thunders, Livingstone wrote that the falls were "the most wonderful sight I witnessed in Africa. In looking down into the fissure on the right of the

valley, there were nothing but a dense white sheet which, at the time we visited the spot, had two bright rainbows on it. The snow-white sheet seemed like myriads of small comets radiating in one direction, each of which left behind its nucleus rays of them."

He concluded that "stones we freely must have seen gazed upon by angels in their flight." Today there is the bus all day of light aircraft above the falls taking tourists an advertised Angel Flight—see the poster at the hotel desk—over the falls. Livingstone was so highly thought of that, when he died in what is now Zambia in 1873, his African helpers buried his heart and then carried his body 2,800 km to the coast where his British colleagues collected it and had it encoined in Westminster Abbey. Obviously a fine fellow. No one has erected a statue of Stanley.

By 1879 (maybe I'm being young), there had been 25 recorded tourists. In 1875, there arrived two African ladies, Mrs. Francis and Mrs. Westbech, both becoming the first female tourists. Mrs. Westbech being on her honeymoon. Both there. Oscar? Her comparative views on the falls relative to other aspects of life are not recorded. Mr. Westbech, on the other hand, got stuck into trade and, apparently every year, did business in some 25,000 lb of ivory, along with ostrich feathers, hides, hippo teeth, rhino horns and museum specimens.

He would not have been terribly popular with today's version of tree-huggers, who are justifiably proud of how they guard the pristine nature of Victoria Falls. The local experts refer rather archly to the tacky nature of Niagara Falls, with its Disneyland ambience. Later he was, instead, an ornate hotel and two train tracks and a river, besides, have been replaced by logs whose tourists stroll in The Rain Forest across the gorge, and the contact most accounts to a yearly total of 32 m.

In 1904, the railway arrived and the Victoria Falls Hotel was built to house the workers who would erect a bridge across the gorge. Gate Rhodes had had the sweeping open built just downriver from the falls so that the spray would wet the passengers. Today are concrete canals that it is such a work of "ecological terrorism"—proving that bus wheels travel everywhere—that it is "almost an embarrassment." Actually, it is a great asset. Because if you lose over your Pimm's No. 3 in the Pimm's bar and look out you can just see it encoined in most David Livingstone, with your heart buried in Africa and your corpse in Westminster Abbey, we bless you.



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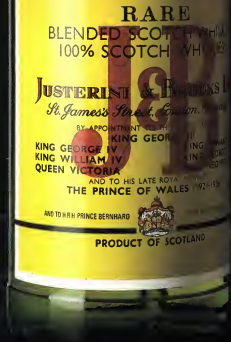
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